

SLAVERY IN ITS RELATION TO GOD.

A REVIEW

OF

REV. DR. LORD'S THANKSGIVING SERMON,

IN FAVOR OF

DOMESTIC SLAVERY,

ENTITLED

THE HIGHER LAW,

IN ITS APPLICATION TO

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

BY

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL,

IN MASSACHUSETTS.

WRITTEN BY SPECIAL REQUEST.

BUFFALO:

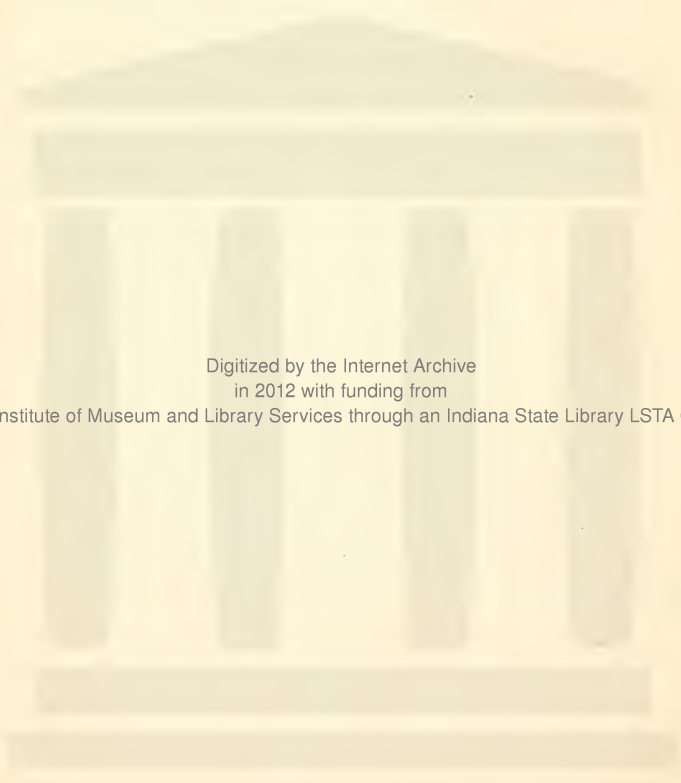
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P R E F A C E .

The Author of the following Review, is greatly indebted for many of the thoughts contained in it, to a work of Rev. Dr. Hague, of New Jersey, entitled, "Christianity and Slavery;" also to the notice of a Sermon some years since by Rev. Dr. Stow, of Boston, which made an indelible impression on his mind at the time, but of which he has no copy at the present, and therefore can give no quotations; and to the writings and personal instruction of Rev. Dr. Wayland, President of Brown University.



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R E V I E W
OF
REV. DR. LORD'S SERMON.

THE HIGHER LAW IN ITS APPLICATION TO THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.
A SERMON ON THE DUTIES MEN OWE TO GOD AND TO GOVERNMENTS, DELIVERED AT THE CENTRAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH [OF BUFFALO,] ON THANKSGIVING DAY, BY JOHN C. LORD, D.D., PASTOR OF SAID CHURCH, AUTHOR OF LECTURES ON GOVERNMENT AND CIVILIZATION. BUFFALO, GEORGE H. DERBY & Co., 1851.—TEXT. MATT. 22: 17-21.

This is a singular Sermon. It is not singular, indeed, in the grammatical sense of that word, for *many* such, we are told, are making their appearance in these days of strange things. But it is remarkable in its *doctrine*; and for the deliberate boldness with which a Christian minister stands up in the pulpit and avows sentiments so entirely discordant with the word of God, and so utterly antagonistic to the spirit of Jesus Christ, who came into this world to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.

In the process of time it will be regarded as a most remarkable fact, in the history of Jesus Christ's church on earth, that a Christian minister in the Jubilee year of the nineteenth century, and in the land of freedom, felt himself called upon in his work of love to show that CHRISTIANITY SANCTIONS SLAVERY. In other words, to show; that *Christianity* allows one man by any means, to hold in ruthless bondage the body, the mind, and the soul of his brother, and to make him an article of merchandise for gain, and for lust; and that *therefore* legislators may make laws for "protecting the RIGHT" of Slavery, and for compelling Christian men by fines and prisons, to kidnap their brethren

and return them to the house of bondage; notwithstanding GOD hath said "thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee," and hath uttered as his law for both dispensations that the "Slave dealer (andrapodistes) shall surely be put to death;"—that Christianity by the authority of God, as vested in Government, and illustrated in the Fugitive Slave Law, forbids us "to deal our bread to the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to bring the poor that are cast out into our houses," notwithstanding, Jesus Christ hath said that in the great separating day he will say to them on the right hand, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: *for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. * * * * Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.*" And that he will also say unto them on the left hand, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: *for I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. * * * * Verily, I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me.* And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." We say, *therefore*, that *that* is a singular sermon which in recognizing the Law of God "in its application to the Fugitive Slave Bill" teaches us that we ought to obey man rather than God, and then by false issues, seeks to make God utter the same sentiment.

In calling for a copy of this sermon for publication, it appears, from a prefatory note it contains, that there are nineteen men in Buffalo morally, theologically and *politically*, competent to say that they have "listened to it with great pleasure and profit," and "believe that its wide dissemination would be productive of great good." But it seems to us that a man, and specially a Christian man, who could sit under the sound of such a sermon and not feel his heart *hot* within him "must have a power of refrigeration that would cool the tropics."

We do not mean to say that there is *nothing* right in the sermon before us. With some of its principles we perfectly agree. It urges to some right and dissuades from some wrong. And that indeed would be a rare specimen of the American pulpit, in this day, which should contain nothing *tolerable*; and specially so from the heart and head

of the Christian minister, who, in the title page of his Thanksgiving sermon writes himself "Author of Lectures on Government and Civilization." With our author we would render no forcible resistance to the laws, not even to the Fugitive Slave law. And we have no sympathy whatever with fanatics, infidels and disunionists. We love the American Union, and mean to do every thing in our power to preserve it, and specially, we mean to obey God: for there is no peril to these States like disobeying the Almighty Ruler of the Universe. "For except the LORD build the house they labor in vain that build it." "Except the LORD keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." And if we can only say, "God is our refuge and strength," "then will not we fear though the earth be removed," though the whole unanimous world be against us. And we would not advise any man to avenge himself, how much soever he may be called to suffer by this iniquitous law. If he suffer wrong, let him suffer meekly as a Christian, and commit the keeping of his soul to God in well-doing, as to a FAITHFUL Creator. For it is written "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord," and "will not God hear the cry of his elect though he bear long with them?"

But it is not the "*tolerable*" in this sermon that has arrested our attention. It is the naked fact that our author under the guise of persuading men to obey law, stands forth, confessedly, the champion of American Slavery. His object is plain. The burden of his discourse is to sustain and perpetuate the Fugitive Slave law. Therefore, he seeks to give it the sanction of God, and so compel Christian men to bow down in silence to this legalized edict of unrighteousness.

Slavery, according to our author, is an institution of God, and sanctioned by Jesus Christ, and his Apostles; and therefore Congress has the right divine, to pass laws to protect it, and to command us by grave penalties to obey those laws; and for us to appeal to the law of God, in protestation of our rights, civil and religious, is, to contravene the revealed will of God himself, "to reject his authority," and to take the position of infidelity. We hesitate not to say, that Dr. Lord in taking such ground for the defence of slavery, has done a greater wrong to the cause of truth, of God, and of humanity, than was ever perpetrated by any kidnapper on the coast of Africa, burning villages, butchering the defenceless and fleeing inhabitants, and freighting his dark slave-ship with captives to be murdered on the passage, or sold into a bondage a thousand times more terrible than death itself.

And we do not wish to be understood as using figurative language, when we thus speak. The work of kidnappers, and of Christian ministers,

when they are of such a character as to fall into the same category, are somewhat different in the degree of wrong which they inflict. Kidnappers proper, openly avow that they are engaged in a most wicked and nefarious work, and committing sin against God of inconceivable magnitude; and they freely confess that "of despicable men," themselves are "the most odious," and that of right, they ought to be regarded as the enemies of the race by every friend of man; and the laws of all civilized countries call them pirates, and condemn them, if caught, to condign punishment.

Hence such kidnappers can never corrupt public sentiment, nor sanctify the sin of slavery, nor build around it a Chinese wall for its defence, nor wield any influence for protecting it by law, nor in any other way add a feather's weight towards perpetuating the evil on earth. Not so, however, the work of Dr. Lord in the sermon before us. Baptizing this monster-wickedness into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and giving the awful sanction of Christianity to a "system of wrong which hell itself might blush to own," he has, by being a minister of the gospel, and an expounder of God's law to men, given the full weight of his character and standing as an ambassador for Jesus Christ, towards weakening God's remedy of this mighty wickedness, and towards strengthening those human enactments by which the "trade in men" has ever been legalized and perpetuated. And this is a work for promoting wrong-doing which piratical kidnappers could never do; and perpetrated by whomsoever, and by whatsoever sanctity his character may be surrounded, and by whatsoever motive he may be urged on to the work; nay, "be he the preacher of righteousness and the most amiable of men," yet with God's law before us we aver it to be the duty of every good man in the land to look him calmly in the face, not in anger, but with sorrow, and say,—“ Though you or an angel from heaven preach this as a part of Christ's gospel, we pronounce the doctrine to be wicked, inhuman, anti-Christian and accursed.” For ourselves, we write with no feeling of unkindness to Dr. Lord. Indeed with that gentleman we are personally unacquainted, and concerning his motives, of course, can know nothing. But concerning his sermon, and its tendencies, we believe what we speak, and do but give utterance to our calm conviction of truth in the fear of God.

The title of the sermon before us is :—“THE HIGHER LAW IN ITS APPLICATION TO THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL,” and the position of its author, in so far as it relates to that bill, and when divested of all irrelevant and extraneous matter, is simply this, viz : *That Slavery is*

an institution of God and sanctioned by Jesus Christ and his Apostles ; and therefore Congress has divine authority to pass laws to protect it, and no citizen is at liberty to appeal to the Law of God to justify him for refusing to aid and abet in reducing the alleged fugitive to Southern bondage, according to the requirements of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

To show that this is the position of our author, we will now give some extracts from the sermon before us. On page 15, we have the following :—“ Slavery was universal throughout the Roman Empire, and the laws gave the master the power of life and death over his servant. Did the Saviour and his Apostles, on this account, reject their authority, or incite their disciples to disobedience and resistance? Did they interfere with existing civil institutions, urging the slave to escape from his master, the citizen to rebel against the magistrate? Their conduct was the exact reverse of this ; they preached to the master forbearance and kindness—to the servant submission and obedience—to both, the gospel. Paul sent Onesimus back to his master, on the very same principles which he enjoined upon the Romans—subjection to existing civil authority. The inspired teachers of Christianity instructed both masters and slaves in regard to the duties which grow out of the institution of *Slavery*, without either approving or condemning the relation itself.”

Again on page 19—21, the author says :—“ In certain conditions of society, Slavery is universal ; it was recognized and regulated by law in all the free States of antiquity ; it is the first movement towards civilization by savage and barbarous nations, to reduce their captives taken in war to slavery, instead of subjecting them to torture and death. A recent traveller in the vast Empire of China, Mr. Lay, affirms that in that country the institution of slavery is a positive blessing, as it prevents infanticide by the poorer classes and provides for multitudes who must otherwise perish of want. That it exists in a mild form in China is admitted, but the question does not depend on the laws of different countries on the subject, but whether it is a condition of society which *can in any case be allowed*, whether civil governments have any authority or jurisdiction to enact laws upon the subject, or in any way to recognize or regulate it.”

“ But there is higher authority for the determination of this question, than any thing which we have yet suggested. The existence of domestic slavery was expressly allowed, sanctioned and regulated by the Supreme Lawgiver, in that divine Economy which He gave the Hebrew State.”

“The fact is open and undisputed; the record and proof of it are in the hands of every man who has in his possession a copy of the Bible. All the ingenuity and art of all the Abolitionists in the United States can never destroy the necessary conclusion of this admitted divine sanction of slavery, that it is an institution which may lawfully exist and concerning which Governments may pass laws and execute penalties for their evasion or resistance.”

“To allege that there is a higher law, which makes slavery, *per se*, sinful, that all legislation that protects the rights of masters, and enjoins the re-delivery of the slave, is necessarily void and without authority, and may be conscientiously resisted by arms and violence, is an infidel position, which is contradicted by both Testaments;—which may be taught in the gospel of Jean Jacques Rousseau, and in the revelation of the Sceptics and Jacobins, who promised France, half a century ago, universal equality and fraternity; a gospel whose baptism was blood, a revelation whose sacrament was crime; but it can not be found in the gospel of Jesus Christ or in the revelation of God’s will to man. We do not mean to affirm that sincere and conscientious persons may not be found who have persuaded themselves that forcible resistance to slavery is obedience to God; and that in the increased light of the nineteenth century the example of the Jewish Economy, and the teaching and practice of our Lord and his Apostles, are antiquated and of no binding force upon the consciences of men. Such honest, but mistaken, persons should remember that if the institution of slavery is necessarily and from its nature sinful *now*, it must *always have* been so; as universal principles admit of no change, and their argument is, therefore, an impeachment of the benevolence of God and a denial of the supreme authority of the Gospel, as a system of ethics. They must, to sustain their position, assume that we are wiser and better men than the Saviour and the Apostles, and that the government of God and the Gospel need revision and emendation. Such a conclusion is inevitable from the premises, and I would affectionately warn all who have named the name of Christ, and who have been betrayed by passion or sympathy into such a position, to see to it before they take the inevitable plunge, with the Garrison school, into the gulf of infidelity.”

These extracts are sufficient to fix the *position* of the author; and we say, therefore, that in so far as it relates to the Fugitive Slave law, his position divested of all extraneous and irrelevant matter is simply this, *viz.* :—*That Slavery is an institution of God and sanctioned by Jesus Christ and his Apostles; and therefore, that Congress has divine authority*

to pass laws to protect it ; and no citizen is at liberty to appeal to the law of God to justify him for refusing to aid and abet in reducing the alleged fugitive to Southern bondage, according to the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

And here it will be expected of us that we state somewhat more particularly the *argument* by which the author supports the position which he has taken. Let us then rehearse a few more of his statements that we may not seem to misrepresent him in this particular.

On page 13, he says :—“ The decisions of Governments upon matters within their jurisdiction, though they may be ERRONEOUS, are yet from the necessity of the case absolute.”

On page 10, he says :—“ To plead a higher law to justify disobedience to a [any] human law, the subject matter of which is within the cognizance of the State, is to reject the authority of God himself, who has committed to governments the power and authority which they exercise in civil affairs.”

Again, page 14 :—“ The Government may recognize an OPPRESSIVE form of domestic servitude, or enact laws in relation to it which are deemed by many oppressive. The State may engage in an UNJUST war, but does this discharge the subject from his allegiance ?” * * * “ But the position which we have taken that the decisions of Governments are final in cases where they have jurisdiction EVEN WHEN MISTAKEN OR OPPRESSIVE is not only sustained by the passages which have been cited from the Scriptures but also by the example and practice of the primitive Christians.” * * * * “ The Government under which our Saviour and the Apostles lived, and of which they spake, was habitually engaged in aggressive wars, aiming at the conquest of the world.” * * * “ Whole legions in the armies that were sent out for conquest by Rome, were composed of Christians, who were doubtless drawn in the general conscription for this service, and who felt it to be their duty to “render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s,” however much they might dislike the business of war.”

Again he says :—“ The State having jurisdiction of the subject, may, as in the waging of an aggressive war *abuse their power*, by ENACTING UNJUST AND OPPRESSIVE LAWS of servitude, but is SUCH legislation therefore, inoperative and void? To affirm this, is to contradict the decision of the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans and to subvert every established principle, whether human or divine on which rests the authority of human Government.”

Such then are some of the sentiments of this singular sermon, and

without saying now whether all of our author's statements are either scriptural or historically true in point of fact, one thing at least may be seen, I think, with sufficient exactitude, viz.: that we neither mistake nor misrepresent him when we say his argument may be summed up in this:—*That in some things the magistracy have the right divine for doing wrong and for commanding and compelling us in the name of God to execute the wickedness.*

The only exception that our author makes in this particular, relates to the worship of God, "and the manner in which we are to approach him," and *this*, in his illustration, he limits to those laws of *external* worship that are violated in cases of idolatry. These, then, according to Dr. Lord, are the ONLY THINGS THAT BELONG TO GOD HIMSELF, and in regard to which "He has appointed no inferior or delegated authority." *All the rest belong to Cæsar.* Says he [page 16:]:—"NOT UNTIL Cæsar intermeddled with the things of God;—NOT UNTIL passing the legitimate jurisdiction of civil government, the Roman magistrate commanded them to ADORE THE IMAGE OF THE EMPEROR, AND TO OFFER INCENSE TO FALSE GODS; did the Christian refuse obedience."

The argument then of our author, reduced for the sake of simplicity to the form of a syllogism, is as follows:—

1. In matters committed by God to governments, Christianity gives to the magistracy the right divine for doing wrong, and for committing the citizen in the name of God to execute the wickedness.

2. To regulate domestic slavery, and protect it, is a matter committed by God to government. Therefore,—

3. To regulate domestic slavery, and protect it, Christianity gives to the magistracy the right divine for doing wrong, and for committing the citizen in the name of God to execute the wickedness.

It is due to the author of the sermon, however, to say that he is careful not to commit himself in his argument as to the matter of fact whether *American Slavery* is, or is not, *oppressive* in its character. A frank avowal of an upright sentiment on this point might, perhaps, have been disastrous as to the *beneficent* object the sermon has in view. For it was evidently "believed that its *wide* dissemination would be productive of great good," specially so south of "Mason and Dickson's Line," "in this day of agitation and alarm."

And further, it should be noticed that the author, in his argument, is guilty of frequently using the word "jurisdiction" with no very great degree of exactitude as to the true meaning of the word. He evidently means by this word *not the LEGAL right* or authority of Congress to

legislate on the subject of slavery. For the *legal* right so to legislate is derived *exclusively* from the Constitution of the United States. But he manifestly means by the word "jurisdiction" the *MORAL* right so to legislate;—that right which God has given Congress by virtue of the relation which the civil magistracy sustains to HIM. Hence the author refers to Hebrew servitude to show that Congress has "jurisdiction," as he calls it, in this matter;—that is, to show, that Congress has *divinely delegated power* to legislate respecting American slavery, and to enact the Fugitive Slave Law to protect it.

According to our author, then, the magistracy in certain cases has the right divine for doing wrong, and for compelling the citizen in the name of God to execute the wickedness.

We do not design to detain the reader long on this part of his sermon. But we would ask, was there ever a greater falsity? Was there ever a principle uttered by man more utterly at variance with both the spirit and letter of the Bible?

According to him, in those cases, then, where civil Governments have any authority to enact laws upon any subject, they may enact *WHAT-EVER* laws they may see fit, and these laws are "absolute," "final" and "supreme," upon the citizen. Let us, now, just for one moment, see how this doctrine will apply to some of those cases confessedly under the cognizance of the civil magistracy. Most Governments have supposed that they have the authority, or moral right, to pass laws respecting theft, murder, adultery, false-swearing, violating the rights of conscience, desecrating the Sabbath day, molesting the worship of God; and in some cases they have thought that they might also, rightfully prohibit the slave trade and slavery. Now inasmuch as these matters are properly within their "*JURISDICTION*" (to use for once the *technicality* of our learned author,) therefore Governments may pass *WHATEVER* laws they may see fit on these subjects, and "their action" is "absolute," "final" and "supreme," on the citizen. They may, therefore, pass laws *PERMITTING* the crime of theft, murder, adultery, false-swearing, violating the rights of conscience, desecrating the Sabbath, molesting the worship of God; and they may also rightfully protect the slave trade on the coast of Africa, and enact slavery and protect it North and South, East and West, and any where, and may enact the Fugitive Slave Law and so *prohibit* us from doing what God has expressly enjoined upon us to do by the hope of heaven. And for any man to appeal to the law of God "to justify disobedience to a human law" *permitting* and *protecting* these crimes, their "subject-matter being within the cognizance of the State,—

is to reject the authority of God himself, who has committed to Governments the power and authority which they exercise in [these] civil affairs." Was there ever a sentiment more at war with reason and the true principle of Christian duty?

There is a sermon on this same text of our author, from the pen of President Wayland, the author of the "Moral Science," from which, we can do no greater service to the cause of truth, than to give here a somewhat lengthy extract. It is published in his Volume of "University Sermons," and entitled the "Duty of Obedience to the Civil Magistrate." On page 265, Dr. Wayland says:—"In the preceding discourse, I have endeavoured to show that every disciple of Christ is under imperative obligations to obey the civil magistrate, so long as the civil magistrate obeys the social and moral laws by virtue of which his office has been created. While the magistracy employs itself in the administration of justice, in the protection of innocence, and the punishment of crime, and in the discharge of those duties, which, for the sake of convenience, the public has voluntarily confided to it, Christ commands us not merely to yield it our obedience but to proffer to it our cheerful and disinterested support. * * * * So much as this, then, the gospel commands, in respect to our obedience to civil government. Beyond this I know not that it utters any command whatever. The acts, therefore, the laws, the requirements of Civil society, like the acts, the laws, the requirements of the Church, or of any other Society, are amenable to the tribunal of reason, and conscience, and the word of God. The Christian is at liberty to inquire whether any act of the government transgresses the limit within which its action is, by reason and revelation, restricted; and yet more, to determine, concerning every one of its actions, whether it be right or wrong. At liberty, did I say? He is more than at liberty,—he is obliged thus to inquire and to determine. He is a party to every act of the society of which he is a member. He is an intelligent moral agent, responsible to God for his actions, whether they be personal or associated, and therefore he must think about civil government, and act about it, according to the light which God has given him, all things else to the contrary notwithstanding."

"I therefore, as a Christian citizen, look upon the civil government and the civil magistracy with as unbending an eye as I look upon any thing else. In simplicity and godly sincerity, not in the spirit of strife, or partizanship, I may pronounce my opinion upon its enactments, and measures, just as I would express my opinion in any other case. I see in presidents, cabinets, senators, representatives and all the array of the civil magistracy nothing but men, fallible men, of like passions with myself. Every page

of the history of the past has shown that men placed in such situations have been exceedingly prone to err and to do wickedly. I can not therefore, worship men in power. In so far as they are virtuous men, I love them. In so far as they are able men, I respect them. In so far as with an honest and true heart they labor to discharge the solemn duties to which they have been appointed, I honor and venerate them. I will pay all due deference to the offices which they hold, and I will bow with seemly respect to the men who hold them. These men are to me the representatives on earth of eternal justice and unsullied truth; and may my arm fall palsied from my shoulder-blade when I refuse to raise it in token of respect to him who is called of God to minister under so solemn a responsibility."

"But all this veneration is due, not to the man, but to the magistrate; and it is due to him, therefore, only so long as he confines himself to the duties of his office, and discharges them with pure and patriotic intentions. I have a right to inquire whether his actions in his office conform to the principles of justice. He must claim for himself no immunity from scrutiny on account of the dignity of his station. If he use the power committed to him for any other purpose than that for which it was committed; if he prostitute his official influence to pander to the wishes of a political party; if he sacrifice the gravest interests of his country for the sake of securing to himself the emoluments of office; if he trample the national honor in the dust in order to minister to the grasping selfishness of a contemptible clique,—that moment every vestige of his sacredness is gone forever. He stands before me like Samson from the lap of Delilah. Shake himself as he may, it matters not to me,—his strength is departed from him. But this is not all; not only is his official sacredness departed,—he has become to me the most odious of despicable men. He has sacrificed his country to his lusts. He has bartered away the well-being of millions for food to nourish his vices. Whether in office or out of it, whether powerful or powerless, I can look upon him henceforth with no other feelings than those of pity and disgust."

"But this may become a yet more practical matter. The magistrate may not only do wrong himself, but he may command me to do wrong. How shall I regard this command? I will regard it as I do any other command to do wrong,—I will not obey it. I will look the magistracy calmly and respectfully in the face, and declare to it that in this matter I owe it no allegiance. I will have nothing to do with its wrong-doing. I will separate myself, as far as possible, from the act and its consequences,

whether they be prosperous or adverse. It is wickedness ; it has the curse of God inwrought into it, and I will have nothing to do with it. From the beginning to the end, I will eschew it, and the reward that it offers. The magistracy may punish me ; I can not help that, I will not resist, but I will not do wrong, nor will I be a party to wrong, let the magistracy or aught else command me.”

“In saying this, I hope that I arrogate to myself nothing in the least peculiar. I am only in the plainest and simplest manner stating the rights and obligations of an intelligent moral being, accountable to God for his actions, and bound to reverence his Creator above all else in the universe. Created under such a responsibility, can I transfer the allegiance which I owe to God to legislative assemblies, to political caucusses, to mass meetings, to packed or unpacked conventions, representing or pretending to represent the assumed omnipotence of public opinion ? My whole moral nature with loathing forbids it. I could not do it without feeling that I had become a despicable slave. I could not do it without knowing that I had exchanged the glorious and incorruptible God for an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things, and worshipped the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed forever. My fellow citizens must not ask this of me ; I will surrender for my country, my possessions, my labor, my life, but I will not sacrifice my integrity ; and that is unworthy of being the country of a good man which shall ask it.”

To this extract of Dr. Wayland, stating so clearly the duty of a Christian citizen in regard to any law requiring him to do wrong, we do not see how a conscientious, trust-worthy and patriotic citizen can refuse to yield his most hearty assent. And yet the doctrine of Dr. Lord is that the magistracy in certain cases has the right divine for doing wrong, and for commanding, and compelling the citizen in the name of God to execute the wickedness. According to him, therefore, it is the duty of the Christian citizen to carry out the provisions of this infamous Fugitive Slave law, although he KNOWS THEM TO BE WRONG. And if he refuses to do what he *knows* thus to be wrong, according to these ethics, he offends God, and perils his own soul. We freely confess that we have never seen a sentiment uttered by man in any part of the world more at war with every true principle of Christian duty.

But Dr. Lord informs us that he sustains this doctrine from the Bible, and he cites Scripture under the color of doing so. We can only refer to a single one of his quotations to show the manner in which he presses Scripture into his service. See Romans, 13 : 1-7. “Let every soul be

subject unto the higher powers : for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. *And they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good and thou shalt have praise of the same, for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil be afraid :* for he beareth not the sword in vain ; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath but also for conscience sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also ; for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due ; custom to whom custom ; fear to whom fear ; honor to whom honor."

How it is, now, that this scripture is authority for the magistracy, in some cases to commit the citizen in the name of God to wrong-doing, I freely confess that for one I am not quite able to see. Surely it *says* no such thing ; but it says exactly the contrary. It says that rulers are not a *terror to good works* but to the evil ; and that the magistrate " is the minister of God to thee for GOOD," " to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." If therefore he be not a terror to *good* works, and if he be God's minister only for good, and for punishing evil, how can he, then, have God's authority for committing the citizen to do evil ? It says, moreover, that the citizen is to obey also " for *conscience* sake," and why it is necessary that *conscience* be particularly active to aid a man in doing what he *knows* to be evil, must be somewhat dark, I think, to most minds.

Prof. Stuart, of Andover, has a remark on this passage, in his Commentary on Romans, showing that its teaching is exactly the contrary to that deduced by Dr. Lord ; and certainly Prof. Stuart will not be suspected of being unsound on this side of the question. Says he :—" This clause [Rom. 13 : 3.] shows what sort of rulers Paul expected Christians to obey, and how far obedience was a duty, viz. : such rulers as protect the good and repress the evil ; and while they do this, there can be no question as to the duty of obeying them. But suppose the reverse, that is, suppose that they protect evil-doing and forbid good works, then Paul's own conduct shows what other Christians ought to do." Such is Dr. Stuart's idea of the teaching of this scripture. It is somewhat remarkable that according to Dr. Lord, it also teaches doctrine directly the reverse of this ;—that we are bound to obey the magistrate to *do evil* on pain

of offending God and periling our own souls, and that too if we refuse to do what *confessedly we know* to be wrong.

But Dr. Lord, in proving this doctrine from the Bible, has omitted that part of the passage quoted which we have put in italics ; and in this particular he reminds us very forcibly of another case remarkably parallel to his own. Satan once quoted scripture to Christ. After placing him on a pinnacle of the temple, on a particular occasion, he said to him. “If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down, for it is written [Psalm 91 : 11—12.] He shall give his angels charge concerning thee, *to keep thee in all thy ways* : and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.” Now Satan did not see fit to quote the *whole* of the passage, *omitting all that part which was material to the question at issue*, and which we have put in italics. I do not say of Dr. Lord, that in this particular “he follows in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor,” lest I seem to speak with unguarded lips. But I do greatly marvel, that a minister of the gospel should be found defending a cause which requires such an abuse of God’s Word to sustain it;—that when citing scripture to show that the magistracy may, in the name of God, commit us to wrong-doing, he should feel it necessary to omit that particular part of the passage quoted, which is material to the point at issue, and which, according to Dr. Stuart, teaches us “*what sort of rulers Paul expected Christians to obey, and how far obedience was a duty.*” Indeed, he might have quoted scripture as another once did, of whom we have heard:—“If sinners entice thee, *consent thou,*” for such a version of the word of God would have been no more flagrant in omission, than that perpetrated by Dr. Lord in proving his doctrine from this passage in Romans. And such also, I may add is the teaching of the other passage cited by our author, Titus 3 : 1. “Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every GOOD work.”

In order to show more plainly the *falsity* of our author, in the major premise of his argument, it may be well for us here for a moment to refer to the true theory of human government regarded as an institution of God.

Civil government is properly the agent of society, and “the great object for which it is established among men is to protect every man in the enjoyment of those rights conferred upon him by his Creator.” It is, *therefore*, also an ordinance of God. Said the authors of the Declaration of American Independence ; “we hold these truths to be self-evident : that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator

with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness ; THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN.”

Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, then, are among the rights that God has conferred on ALL men as individuals of society, and civil government of whatever form, *in so far as it is ordained of God* ;—in so far as it is *His* ministry, is an agent of society to secure *these rights* equally to all men without distinction of clime, color, or race. “ Whatsoever ye would that men do unto you, do ye even so unto them,” is the law of Jesus Christ on this subject, and civil government has for its true object the carrying out of this Divine precept in those cases where men would be otherwise unwilling to do so.

Whenever, therefore, the *rights* of one man are invaded by any other man or men, the individual has a right, in the name of God, to turn to civil government as his agent for protection and redress. He has a right to demand of the Legislature those laws, of the Judiciary those decisions, and of the Executive that action, that will fully protect him in those rights conferred on him by his Creator ; and civil government has no right whatever to refuse the demand. And the magistracy, in thus protecting the rights of the citizen, has the power, in the name of God, and of the State, to punish offenders by depriving them of those rights which they have forfeited by the crimes which they have committed.

But the citizen has no right whatever to call for the interposition of the magistracy except only when his rights have been invaded ; and the magistracy has no right whatever to interfere in his behalf except to protect him in the enjoyment of those rights conferred on him by his Creator. The civil magistracy is thus an ordinance of God, not very unlike the ministry of the gospel. Both have their own legitimate objects in view, the one to *do justice*, the other to *preach truth*. And in so far, *only*, as they do so, can they act in the name of God. And in what respect soever they depart from the legitimate objects of their office, by so far exactly, do they, in these particulars, cease to be God’s ministry ; and God no more sanctions the *injustice* of the one, than he does the *heresy* of the other. Cæsar’s power, therefore, in government, is a RESTRICTED power. And he has no right to transcend his limits, either by usurping power which does not belong to him, or by carrying out his lawful measures by means which are not innocent. And in so far as Cæsar transcends his limitations, by so far, he is not acting in the name of God, and by so far, my allegiance to God, as accountable to him for every one of my acts, forbids me to obey him. For where I have no

right to obey, Cæsar has no right to command me. Says Jesus Christ:—“Render unto Cæsar the things that ARE Cæsar’s,” intimating, thereby, that *some* things do not belong to him. Cæsar’s tribute, and custom, and fear, and honor, and authority in so far as he uses it for protecting the rights God has conferred on Cæsar’s subjects, are all Cæsar’s; and all these render to Cæsar. But when Cæsar commands me to invade the rights of others in order to gratify his selfishness, or injustice, or cruelty, or pride, or ambition, or avarice, or his lust, though he be God’s minister to me for good in the *rightful* exercise of his power and authority, yet in this particular he acts not in the name of God, but in the name of Satan, and here I must not obey him; for God will hold me responsible for all evil-doing in which I may thus engage. I am no more at liberty to obey a civil magistrate commanding me to do *wrong*, than I am to embrace *heresy* because preached by Dr. Lord, or any other professed minister of the gospel. And that the magistracy is of God, and *therefore* may commit the citizen in the name of God to do wickedly, we deem to be no argument, at all, in favor of wrong-doing. For then, indeed, would even his Satanic majesty be entitled to the same prerogative. For we strongly suspect that Satan himself may lay some claim to be regarded as having been of Divine origin, and *therefore*, according to Dr. Lord, he would be entitled to the special indulgence of most distinguished consideration. Cæsar’s power, therefore, is a *restricted* power, we say, and he is God’s minister, and has a right to command me, and I have a right to obey him, *only* in so far as he commands me to aid in maintaining those rights conferred on men by their Creator. In what respect soever he goes beyond this “I will not obey him,” “He may punish me if he please.” That will be *his* business and not *mine*, and for it he will be accountable. “I will not *resist* him,” but I will not disobey GOD, all the human magistracy in the universe to the contrary notwithstanding. Such we deem to be the duty of every intelligent moral being.

And it was because Jesus Christ knew that the magistracy would transcend the limits of its power, and endeavor to commit men to wrong-doing, and that some ministers of the gospel would aid and abet them in doing so, that he specially forewarns his disciples in such cases to fear God. Said he, “they will deliver you up to the councils, and will scourge you in their synagogues. And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony AGAINST them and the Gentiles. What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in the light: and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house tops. And

fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear Him that is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."

And so, accordingly, when Peter and John, not very long afterward, were brought up before the Jewish Sanhedrim, and forbidden by the authority of that high civil and ecclesiastical Tribunal, not to speak at all, nor to teach in the name of the Lord Jesus, they answered, "whether it be RIGHT in the sight of God to hearken unto you, more than unto God judge ye, for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." And when they were discharged from custody and were come to their own, the burden of their prayer was,—“And now Lord behold their threatening, and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word;” which was in effect, saying:—*Grant unto thy servants that with all boldness they may disobey this civil and ecclesiastical magistracy.*” And God shook the place where they were assembled in token of the Divine approbation, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost “and they spake the word of God with BOLDNESS,” the command of the magistracy to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And a few days after, when they were again summoned to appear before the Sanhedrim, and the high priest asked them, saying, “Did not we straitly command you that ye should not teach in this name, and behold ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man’s blood upon us?” To this accusation their characteristic and noble reply was, and very unlike the doctrine of Dr. Lord, “We ought to obey God rather than men.”

And we would specially commend these scriptures, and a multitude of other passages of like import, to the careful and prayerful reading of our author, whenever he may again feel the need of scriptural proof to sustain him in the position that the magistracy, in certain cases, has the right divine for doing wrong, and for commanding and compelling the citizen in the name of God to obey him in executing the wickedness.

And since our author seems to think that “the forms of freedom are of little consequence to him who is made by color and caste a hewer of wood and a drawer of water,” and, that the moral obliquity of the Fugitive Slave law is materially relieved from the fact that *few* only of these persons are likely to suffer in consequence of its unrighteous provisions, and that the faithful execution of this law will be for the great good of the Union; we would direct him to the particular reading of John 11: 47—50, where he may find, for his tranquility, a very similar sentiment recorded;—“What do we,” said the Pharisees in the Jewish Sanhedrim, when they were plotting the murder of Christ, “for this man doeth many

miracles. If we let him alone all men will believe on him, and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and our nation. And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it IS EXPEDIENT FOR US, that ONE man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." Surely then Dr. Lord is not the first man who has preached that it is EXPEDIENT TO DO WICKEDLY in order to "preserve the Union;" and that human action loses from its *moral* character whenever its evil tendency falls only on the FEW. It is, however, somewhat unfortunate for him that he does not truthfully represent the facts in regard to the *extent* of misery, so great and appalling, occasioned by this iniquitous Fugitive Slave Law,—that he deliberately shuts his eyes on the truth respecting the thousands of innocent sufferers, specially in our large cities, poor, sick, frightened and bereft men, women and children, both fugitives and free persons of color, who alike with us are the children of our Heavenly Father, and as truly entitled, in the sight of God, to their freedom as is Dr. Lord to his, but who today are hiding in garrets, corners and cellars, living in a state of mind bordering on distraction, and wholly incapacitated by fear and real danger, from coming to the light of day to earn for themselves and families their daily bread; to say nothing of the *numbers* both of fugitives and others, inhumanly seized, manacled and dragged away into a bondage a thousand times more to be dreaded than murder itself. Good God! can there be a MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL in thy universe competent to defend a wrong so atrocious, so Heaven-daring as this Fugitive Slave Law!! But what marvel, that there be some preachers who would dissuade from agitation when deeds of darkness have been committed, and "when with them the inalienable rights of the weak and defenceless are but "*an inconsequential abstraction.*" "*Did we not straitly command you that you should not teach in this name, and behold ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine and intend to bring this man's blood upon us.*" [CAIAPHAS.] "*I would that I had a voice to penetrate every habitation in this great Empire, to reach every ear from ocean to ocean, from Maine to Florida,—to entreat my countrymen to pause from a controversy from which there will soon be no retreat, and of which if protracted, there can be but one issue—the dissolution of the Union and the ruin of the Republic.* * * * * *I would beseech them to take care of the Commonwealth, than which there is no higher law for the Christian citizen.* * * * * *I would beseech them to stand by the Union, to*

obey the laws and to frown upon AGITATION in this crisis of our beloved country." [JOHN C. LORD.]

And since it is so easy for our author to compromit the welfare of the weak and defenceless, teaching men that they may *engage* to do their neighbor wrong, and so by an *oath*, *create the obligation* to do wickedly, and may thereby escape the curse, God has pronounced on him "that frameth mischief by a law," we would further commend to him for his special edification the case of Herod, who, in his wine and lust, swore to the daughter of a lewd woman on a particular occasion, that he would give her whatsoever she would ask of him, and then for his *oath* sake sent and cut off the head of John the Baptist, whose rights he had already invaded by depriving him unjustly of his lawful liberty. And it may be as well for him to look at still another case. I mean that of the forty ruffians who had entered into an engagement to murder Paul, and then bound themselves by an oath that they would neither eat nor drink till they had perpetrated the deed. From both of which cases he may possibly learn, that as men have no right to do wickedly *to others before* swearing to do so, so neither have they any such right afterward, since neither oath, nor law, can make that *right* which GOD has made *wrong*. Men, if they please, may swear to their "own hurt and change not" *That* is another question. But as no man may take advantage of his own fault, so *swearing* to do ill to *another*, can neither make it *right* to do so, nor can it *create* the moral obligation to perpetrate the wickedness. And if it be PIRACY before God, to kidnap a man on the coast of Africa, I know it is piracy to kidnap him in Massachusetts, or any where else on the face of this earth. Moral principles admit of no change from any consideration of place. Nor is Congress competent by any construction of the Constitution, or in any other manner, to frame a *wicked* law so as to create a moral obligation for perpetrating a *wicked deed*. And as for "compromises and compacts," which *others* may have seen fit to make in our behalf, in defiance of reason, and the Word of God, and in violation of our religious sentiments, and conscientious convictions of right, "good faith, honesty and integrity, among men," and before God, too, will compel a *good* man to respect *none* of them. And since our author seems to think there "is no higher law" for him, in these matters, than human enactments, "we would affectionately" invite him to re-peruse Math. 25 : 31—46, where he will find for the Judgment, a Bill of Christian Rights somewhat different in character from that of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the *constructive* "compromises of the Constitution" on which that law is said to be built.

We have reached one conclusion, namely, that the major premise of Dr. Lord's argument is an utter falsity;—that it is not TRUTH “*that in some cases the magistracy has the right divine to engage in wrongdoing and to commit the citizen in the name of God to execute the wickedness.*”

Thus far we have confined ourselves, chiefly, to the falsity of our author in the major premise of his argument, with no more than making allusion to that in his minor premise, which, after all, contains the more objectionable, if possible, as well as the more prominent feature of this notorious discourse. This minor premise, in substance, is this, viz:—that to regulate slavery and protect it, is a matter committed by God to governments and sanctioned by Christianity. The author, after making slavery one step of improvement in the progress of “*Civilization,*” and showing its *blessedness* at the present time “in the vast Empire of China,” passes on to what he regards the strong hold of his position, viz.: the “DIVINE SANCTION” of the Institution. From this, he affirms that slavery is an institution of God, and “may lawfully exist” at the present time, “and concerning which, governments may pass laws” to “protect the RIGHTS OF MASTERS,” in this kind of property, and to “enjoin the redelivery of slaves,” and may also “execute penalties” for evading or resisting these enactments.

DOES CHRISTIANITY THEN sanction slavery, so as to authorize a Christian code of laws to protect the institution? Dr. Lord most positively affirms that it does, and brands every man with sentiments of infidelity, who presumes to dissent from him. We shall proceed to examine his argument, that *Christianity sanctions* slavery, in the light of the sacred scriptures.

By comparing different parts of the discourse before us, and granting the author his greatest latitude, we perceive that he rests his argument in favor of slavery as having a “sanction divine,” on the five following points :

1. God enacted slave laws in the code of Moses.
2. Jesus Christ came in contact with slavery under the Jewish law, but did not expressly condemn it.
3. The Apostles met with Roman slavery among the Gentiles, but did not denounce it, nor the government which protected it by laws which gave the master the power of life and death over his servant.
4. The Apostles preached the gospel to slaves among the Gentile converts, and enjoined upon them the observance of duties which grow out of the relation of slavery itself.

5. The Apostles legislated for slaveholders in Christian churches, respecting the treatment of their slaves, but said nothing respecting the duty of emancipating them.

We do not perceive that the author presents any consideration material to the subject in question, which may not be fairly included within the compass of some one of these particulars. We shall therefore proceed to take up these several points in their respective order, and see how *far they may be true* in point of fact, and *what bearing* they may have in determining the question at issue, "DOES CHRISTIANITY SANCTION SLAVERY, so as to authorize government to protect it by law?"

And, First;—It does not quite follow that Christianity sanctions Slavery, so as to authorize a Christian code of laws to protect the institution, because there were slave laws enacted in the code of Moses. True, our author says, that, "if the institution of slavery is necessarily, and from its nature sinful *now*, it always must have been so, as universal principles admit of no change and the argument" that it is sinful *now*, "is therefore an impeachment of the benevolence of God."

But let us see how this principle will apply in sanctioning, as Christian, some other things found in the code of Moses.

From the Old Testament Scriptures we learn, that in a case of accidental homicide (as for instance "when the head of an axe slipped from the helve and wounded a man to death,") he that was akin to the slain man might, with impunity, and without judge, or jury, slay the innocent person, if he overtook him before he arrived at a city of refuge. We learn, further, from the law of Moses, that when a man, already united to one wife, chose to take another, he was at liberty to do so, and to put away the first wife if he pleased. And when he wanted to divorce his wife because "he had no delight in her," the way of doing it was prescribed by positive enactment. Neither did the law prohibit his having more than one living wife, if he chose to have more, and made particular provision for the rights of the first-born under such circumstances. It was thus that "the existence" of what our laws call Murder, Polygamy, and Divorce without Criminal Cause "was *expressly allowed, sanctioned, and regulated by the Supreme Law-giver, in that divine economy which he gave the Hebrew State. The fact is open and undisputed; the record and proof of it are in the hands of every man who has in his possession a copy of the Bible.*" And according to the reasoning of Dr. Lord these are *institutions*, therefore that may claim the "DIVINE SANCTION" and "*which may LAWFULLY exist*" at the present time "*and concern-*

*ing which, governments may pass laws in order to protect the rights of such murderers and adulterers in the commission of these very acts, and may execute penalties for the evasion or resistance” of these enactments. And for any one to appeal to the law of God in protestation of his rights, civil, religious, and domestic, against the invasion of these murderers and adulterers, is to contravene the revealed will of God, and take the “position of infidelity.” It is of no service at all to our author, but the contrary, that Jesus Christ has forbidden murder, and repealed the law of polygamy and divorce in the code of Moses; for according to Dr. Lord, “Universal principles admit of no change,” and if the intentional slaying of an innocent man be murder, and having more than one living wife, be adultery, *now*, they must always have been so, which to assert, according to his logic, “would be an impeachment of the benevolence of God” as displayed in “that divine economy which he gave the Hebrew State.” Now the question is, does Christianity sanction Murder, Polygamy and Divorce under such circumstances? And is the law of Christ forbidding Murder, and positively declaring this Polygamy and Divorce to be adultery, “an impeachment of the benevolence of God” in his suffering these things, and others like them, in the code of Moses? The process of reasoning, so far as the logic of Dr. Lord is concerned, I aver to be parallel in the two cases.*

And since it is intended to make so much for American slavery, out of the slave-laws in the code of Moses, it may be well, here, to state some of the facts respecting those laws, in their application to this subject, and see how they bear on American slavery, and what sanction divine they afford for protecting the “peculiar institution” as it exists in this country. I can only indicate some of these facts, believing that they will hardly be denied by any intelligent “and fair-minded man.”

1. Slavery did not have its *origin* in the law of Moses. Moses did not enact the institution among his countrymen. Abraham, more than three hundred years before Moses was born, had men-servants and maid-servants, just as he also had a plurality of wives. And the practice of slavery also, obtained, with very great generality and severity, among the surrounding nations. The law of Moses, therefore, is no more responsible for the origin of slavery than for the polygamy of ancient times.

2. And God has seen fit at particular times, and for particular reasons, to give to particular persons, peculiar directions. He commanded Abraham to slay his son for a burnt sacrifice. He commanded

the Hebrews to invade the territory of the Canaanites and utterly to annihilate the inhabitants thereof, slaying without mercy, men, women and children, and seizing upon their houses and lands for a perpetual possession. In like manner, he commanded Saul to destroy the Amalekites. The reason God gave for this, I may say, extraordinary command in these last two cases, was, that "the cup of their iniquity was full." And surely, He who had the right to drown a world for their sin, might certainly chose his own mode for destroying some of the wicked nations thereof. But extraordinary commands require a special revelation from God, before we can feel that they are a part of our duty. No man is at liberty to sacrifice a child on the ground that God commanded Abraham to do so. The wars of Canaan would not authorize a people to wage war on a neighboring republic, for accumulating five hundred thousand square miles of her territory, over which to extend the area of slavery, without a special revelation to that effect. Much less can the magistracy rightfully commit me to the nefarious work of kidnapping men, women and children for the slave market until it can show me its divine credentials for enacting so extraordinary a requirement into the form of a law.

3. God saw fit to suffer the Hebrews, "because of the hardness of their hearts," to put away their wives, and for the same reason, no doubt, he suffered them to do some other things, specified in the law of Moses, which Christianity does not sanction. And we see no good reason why Hebrew servitude, in so far as it was sin, might not be put into the same category. Certain it is, that the ancient polygamy and divorce were the occasion of no greater curse to the Jews, than was their *practice*, at last, respecting their bondmen and women. [See the 58th Chapter of Isaiah, and the 34th Chapter of Jeremiah at the 12—22 verses.] And whether slavery, in whatever form, has not, ever since, had a little more to do with hard hearts and God's curse, than with soft hearts and God's blessing, it does not belong to my object just now to say. The fact, however, that slavery was recognized in the code of Moses and *therefore* must, of necessity, be sanctioned by the Gospel, I am not quite able to see, any more than I can the fact, that the polygamy there recognized, will, therefore, justify a Christian man, *now*, for keeping a seraglio or harem.

4. But there is another view to be taken of this subject, It is very evident from scripture, that the *law* of slavery and the *practice* of slavery in the Hebrew State were not altogether identical. From the scripture just referred to in Jeremiah, it is plain that the curse of the

Babylonian captivity, in great part, was brought upon the Jews for “*transgressing* God’s covenant,” in “*not hearkening unto him,*” to proclaim LIBERTY, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor. It will be specially important for us, therefore, to look at some of the enactments in God’s COVENANT respecting which the Jews, it appears, had thus *transgressed*. And it may, after all prove to be true that God has been less intent to *protect* slavery among his people, than he has to EMANCIPATE the slave; and that the “divine economy which God gave the Hebrew State” may therefore be found to furnish less “aid and comfort” to Dr. Lord in behalf of kidnapping and the Fugitive Slave Law, than he, in his sermon, would have us suppose. The following are among the provisions expressly stipulated in behalf of those held to service, according to the law of Moses :

1. No Hebrew, except by voluntary contract, could be held to service for a period longer than six years. Meanwhile, he was never to be treated as a slave but as a hired servant. And this was the law also for all children born in the State from whatever parents, and for all naturalized subjects called proselytes. Moreover, the law gave to every person in service the right to become naturalized, if he chose to do so. (See Exodus, 21 : 2—4. Levit. 25 : 39—43. Deut. 15 : 12. Gen. 17 : 12—13. Also, Jahn’s *Archae*, Sect. 171.) Such a law of “*Apprenticeship*” respecting slavery was passed a few years since in some of the West India States, and the world called it “EMANCIPATION.”

2. No person of another nation and not a proselyte could be held to Hebrew service longer than till the year of Jubilee, be it in any given case a longer or a shorter period. The command on this point in the law of Moses is very clear and explicit. It may be found in Leviticus, 25 : 8—10, and reads as follows :—“And thou shalt number seven Sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound, on the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement shall you make the trumpet sound throughout all your land. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF: it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return EVERY MAN unto his possession, and ye shall return EVERY MAN unto his family.” The 46th verse, therefore, of this same 25th Chapter, where it is written that “Children of strangers shall be your bondmen *forever,*” must be interpreted according to this general law of the Jubilee. For the design of this passage was not to abolish, in a

given case, this law of the Jubilee, but to limit the Hebrews "*always and forever*" to those of another nation in buying those who were properly their bondmen and women.

This regulation of limited service to those who were unwilling to become naturalized citizens of the Hebrew State was modified by still further enactments. Respecting the rights of person, *cruelty and oppression* were strictly prohibited. And if a slave was maimed in any way he was at once entitled, in consequence of the injury, to his freedom. (Exodus, 21: 26-27.) And if at any time he saw fit to run away, he was in no wise to be re-delivered to his master. "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee." (Deut. 23: 15.) And if there was an exception of privilege to this rule in favor of *Hebrew* masters, as some contend, no such exception can obtain *now*, and specially so in favor of American slavery under the Gospel. For Christianity has "broken down" all such "middle walls of partition." With such a law, therefore, as this in our Slave-holding States, American slavery could not survive an hour.

3. Respecting the religious rights of the slave in the Hebrew State, it was specially provided that he should receive stated instruction in the knowledge of God and of his law, besides being entitled to the privilege of attending all the religious festivals of the year. Moreover, a large portion of the *time* of the slave was his own. He was to be a guest at all the family festivals. (Exod. 12: 44. Deut. 12: 12-18.) He was entitled by law to the whole of the seventh year (Levit. 25: 3-6), and also to every Sabbath day (Exodus, 20: 10.) He was to go up to Jerusalem from whatever part of the land *thrice*, yearly, to attend the three great national festivals, each a week long, besides attending the feasts of the New Moon, and of the Trumpets, and of the great day of Atonement. (Leviticus, 23: 27-32. Leviticus, 33: 24-25.) The time thus allowed every person held to service in the Hebrew State, of whatever nation, must have been about two-fifths of the whole period.

4. Besides this, the law of Moses made it death for any person to kidnap a man, or to hold in his possession a man stolen. "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." (Exodus, 21: 16.) Nor is this Moses law alone. Paul, in his first epistle to Timothy, 1: 10, alludes to this law, in a way to show that it is still in force. He puts "Man-stealers," (andrapodistes,) properly SLAVE-DEALERS, into the same category with "Murderers of fathers," and "Murderers of mothers," and "Men-

slayers," and with some other characters whose crimes are atrocities of the first degree the world over, in whatever dispensation.

Who does not see, therefore, that if the law of Moses respecting servitude were to-day re-enacted in the Slave states of this Republic, it would be the trumpet of the Jubilee before sunset to every bondman in the land? Nay, more; who does not see, that the "divine economy which God gave the Hebrew State," both in its spirit and letter, not only does not sanction American slavery, but that it, and God's law for the new dispensation, also, are *down* upon this mighty wickedness with the very penalty of death itself. "How strange it is," says Dr. Barnes of Philadelphia, when referring to these laws of Moses, "that laws like these should ever be appealed to now, and in the United States of America, and by ministers of the gospel of Christ too, to justify the perpetual bondage of the African here, — a system between which and that of Moses there can scarcely be found the slightest resemblance."

To see, if possible, in a still clearer light the irrelevancy of Dr. Lord's referring to "that divine economy God gave the Hebrew State," in order to Christianize American slavery, it will not be wrong for us to give an outline of some of the more prominent feature of this great wickedness, which by the Fugitive Slave Law we are commanded to sustain, and which, according to the doctrine of Dr. Lord, we are compelled by the the authority of God to protect. We shall hazard nothing, we think, in saying that God's law "makes" *this* "slavery, *per se*, sinful."

In referring, however, to the sinfulness of this slavery, we are far from denouncing the *whole* South, and the South *only*, as guilty in this matter. Some of the South are as separate from the slavery there, and from any fellowship with it, or with the Fugitive Slave Law, which protects it, as any at the North. And others may be identified with it in the relation of master, and yet free from its guilt. "For," in the truthful language of Dr. Hague on this point, "a man may hold this relation in a legal sense, against his consent. He may deem himself the victim of misfortune; he may feel bound to avail himself of his legal power for the protection of his brethren; and especially he may, before God, as a Christian man, abjure all right and title to his fellow-men as property. Such a man, though master of a thousand slaves, is more truly a philanthropist, and more worthy the fellowship of the universal church, than is the northern Christian who never saw a slave, and still declares that Christianity sanctions slavery. The former is a slaveholder in name, but not in truth and in spirit; the latter is called a non-slaveholder, but a change of residence would make him an owner of men

and women ; and he is now a slaveholder in principle, in feeling, and in guiltiness. The Author of the Sermon on the Mount assures us, that God judges men, not merely according to their overt acts, but according to the intents of their hearts,—the objects of their approval or abhorrence.” But those who are thus innocent, we are confident, would not be very ready to advocate the enormities of the Fugitive Slave Law ; much less, would they give the awful sanction of Heaven to that system of iniquity, which this enactment is designed to protect.

There is a slavery recognized in the Bible, though not exactly *sanc-tioned* as *divine*, to which Dr. Lord might have appealed, in behalf of the American system, with great propriety, as its analogies, in many points, are very striking and peculiar. I mean the bondage of Israel under Pharaoh, king of Egypt. “I have seen, *I have seen*,” said God, in the bush, to Moses, “the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and I have heard their groaning, and am come down to deliver them.” Pharaoh, it seems, had made the people slaves, and they groaned by reason of their hard bondage, and God’s ear was open to their cry. By what right Pharaoh claimed them as slaves, it does not appear. Israel was not *stolen*, nor does it appear that they were ever *bought*. In this respect, the slave-claim of Pharaoh must have been an unusual one ; for when Jacob went down into Egypt to dwell, he had a perfect understanding with the king of the country. It was the express stipulation that Pharaoh should *give* him of the “fat of the land.” The word, that the king sent to Jacob, inviting him to leave Canaan, was, “regard not your stuff, for the good of all the land of Egypt is yours.” And Pharaoh adhered to his promise on the arrival of the patriarch. Said he to Joseph, “Thy father is come. The land of Egypt is before thee ; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell.” This, surely, is not the language of *buying* or of *stealing* men.

Nor could the younger Pharaoh claim them on the ground of inheritance ; for then, there must have been an antecedent claim to them, on the part of some one, since that can not be *inherited*, which some other person has not already *possessed*.

The usual claim to the so-called property of this kind, particularly in modern times, and in a land where it is believed that “all men are created equal,” is founded on theft ; and after this, by purchase or inheritance of what is known to have been originally stolen ; and that too when the rightful owner is ever present to claim what God hath given him to hold, as a right inalienable.

But after Israel had been once enslaved, Pharaoh might then possibly have supported some claim to *continue* them in bondage, on the ground of color. For Pharaoh was black, and his slaves white, and he might have said "that blacks can not work under the scorching sun of Egypt; that white skin does not so absorb the rays of the sun as black. That God therefore has made white men to be slaves, that slavery is an institution of God, and that as the king of the country he was only carrying out the divine right of slavery in holding white Israel in bondage." Certainly he would not have been alone in reasoning thus. Be this as it may, one thing is certain: Pharaoh did claim some extraordinary rights and powers over this people. He made them serve, by any means, and by all means, with great rigor, and with hard bondage. He placed task-masters over them, or "*drivers*," as they are more properly called in modern times. And he took it upon him to say that the people should not worship God as Jehovah had commanded them. Moreover, he claimed the right to double their task of already too hard bondage, because some others, who feared God, and felt for humanity, and loved right and justice, had, in the name of God, interfered. He then claimed the right to flog them, because they did not do what they could not do, and finally to kill them at pleasure. We venture to say that these are most remarkable rights to claim over the bodies and souls of men, and are almost equal to the rights and powers claimed by American slavery. It does not appear, however, that there were ministers of religion in the land of Egypt, who felt themselves called upon in their work of love, to preach obedience to these extraordinary requirements of sin against God, because they happened to be in the form of a law.

American slavery began its career, by stealing men and women, and murdering whatsoever opposed itself to this high-handed violence. It is confessedly peculiar in this respect. It then claims the right to *hold* by the purchase, and inheritance of what is known to have been thus stolen. The laws teach us that a horse, known to be stolen, can neither be purchased nor inherited. It then puts forth a strong plea for continuing men in bondage, on the ground of color.

"He finds his fellow guilty of a skin
 "Not colored like his own; and having power
 "T' enforce the wrong, for such a worthy cause,
 "Dooms and devotes him as his lawful prey."

The law is explicit, — "No white person can be enslaved." And then, having power to enforce these rights, like Pharaoh, it enslaves, — it tasks, — it drives, — it whips, — it treats with cruelty, — it takes away

the right to worship God,—it kills ;—nay, more,—it claims the right to make chattels of human flesh, and to regulate and protect “the trade in men,” by the arm of the fugitive slave law. No! it never occurred to Pharaoh, how profitable it would be to breed slaves for the home-market, and thus made their multiplication a source of revenue, instead of alarm to the State; and when his home-market began to be dull, because glutted, we do not read that he annexed any part of the adjoining country to his dominions, or made war on a neighboring state, in order to open a wider market for the surplus he could not well use in his own brick-yards; or, that he enacted a fugitive slave law, to whip into his service of sustaining slavery, and protecting it, all the free of his states, under the plea that he had erected these enormities into “a law, and that they must be obeyed and faithfully executed in order to preserve the Union.”

But this Pharaoh died, and went up to his account, as all slave-dealers, and apologists must, and he was succeeded by his son, who felt himself a much stronger man than his father. The younger Pharaoh was afraid of nothing. He could not only cope with Israel, but with God himself. Said the man Moses, when he stood before this king, and in the name of the great God commanded him, “Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, let my people go, that they may serve me;” Pharaoh replied, “Who is the LORD, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the LORD, neither will I let Israel go.” It is not wonderful that the oppressor, and the apologist for slavery, should not be very ready to recognize God, and God’s law. They have always been slow to do this.

But Pharaoh had recourse to stratagem to cut off this interference of others in his own matters. He doubled the task of his slaves, and flogged them for not doing it. It was saying, in so much, to Moses and Aaron, “You had better let them alone, for these ‘bills,’ to regulate and protect slavery, would never have been enacted, but for your interference to abolish it—the more you ‘agitate,’ the worse it will be for Israel;” and a short-sighted compassion would have begged Moses to desist on this very ground. But God, it seems, thought otherwise. He commanded Moses to prosecute his object, without flinching, unto the end. And Moses obeyed God. Eight times did he stand before the king of Egypt, and say, “Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, let my people go, that they may serve me.” But it was not until this oppressor had suffered the tenth judgment—an awful visitation from the hand of God—that he loosed his grasp. *The destroying angel passed through the land.* There is, and there are, at the present time, who preach that

to stay the destroying angel, and "save the Union," we must, now, protect the oppressor and crush the oppressed, and so spread the curse of slavery over what part of the land God has hitherto not blighted with this mildew of divine wrath.

And it is worthy of special remark, that God expresses his great abhorrence at this system of Egyptian slavery, on the ground that it interfered with the relation which the oppressed sustained to himself. The command was, "Let my people go, *that they may serve me.*" Jehovah might have demanded their release, on other grounds. But He takes this, as the greatest reason against slavery. He has heard their groans, indeed, on account of their *physical* sufferings, but still He does not command Pharaoh, on this ground, to let them go. He demands their release, because their bondage interfered with their *servng God*. And this we take to be the great evil of Southern slavery. It interferes with the relation man sustains to God. It hinders the slave from *servng* Him. This, we believe, to be its crying sin, "a sin of inconceivable magnitude," and which, nothing holy in this universe can either sanction, or sustain.

There are *other* atrocities, I know, connected with the system. It is a system of law which licenses one man to compel another to labor for him, for life, without his contract or consent, half clad and half fed; and dooms his posterity, after him, to the same curse. It licenses that same man to secure that same service, by *whatsoever* means;—by beatings,—by lashings,—by brandings,—by maimings,—by prisons,—by starvings,—by hunting with blood hounds,—by shootings,—and by enacting the fugitive slave law. Nay, and in case of resistance, on the part of the slave, to such outrage on the inalienable rights which God has given to every human being, it licenses the master to kill him with impunity, whose only alleged crime is that of his birth, or having at some time been kidnapped or stolen. It thus licenses one man to gratify his selfishness, injustice, avarice, ambition, pride, cruelty, and lust, and still protects him, in the atrocity, by law. These, I say, are some of the *physical* evils which the system *licenses*. The master may not be guilty of them, and he *may*, and in not a few cases he *is* thus guilty. But these are evils, so far as they are physical, that die with the body. Its high-handed wickedness is, that it hinders immortal beings from serving God, and so crushes the energies of the soul, and inflicts inconceivable injury upon the deathless spirit, and thus, except by a miracle of mercy, it hands over the immortal man to the blackness of darkness forever. For example, it hinders a man from reading the Bible. He

can not serve God where he does not know his will. The laws of the slave states, in most cases, do not allow a slave to learn to read. An immortal being, as he is, and capable, and desirous too, of learning to read and of knowing God's Word, yet he is hindered by law. Slavery, at the south, hinders a man from obeying God's commands, to keep the Sabbath day holy. He may be allowed to keep it; he may not be. He may attend public worship; or he may not. The master decides. "The Sabbath is made for man," for all men: all need it, the bond and the free, the black and the white, and God has given every man a right to it, and this right is inalienable; and no man can take it from him, without robbing both God and man. But he is dependant on his master, to know whether he may serve God in this way or no. And southern slavery hinders a man from obeying God, in bringing up his children in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord." His children are not his, but his master's; and this is sometimes true in more senses than one, as the color of the offspring, in some cases, abundantly testify. Children can not be taught obedience, according to the fifth commandment, in Southern slavery, — "Honor thy father and thy mother." They must obey the master. "And victims of the slave system at the south, can not serve God under the seventh commandment. No man in slavery can have his own wife, and no woman her own husband. Both are the property of the master, and may be separated from each other for life, and made to form other alliances, as the master pleases. But farther than this: There is not a female slave at the south, that has the least protection for her chastity. She has none in public sentiment, for there is not a white person in the land that will avenge her wrongs. A colored person can not, except under penalty of death. She has no protection in the laws, for there is not a fragment of law that shields her from any form of insult. She has no protection in muscular power, for if a slave strike a white person, it is death. She is the victim of any, and every, human brute, and no father, no husband, no brother, no neighbor, no human being, can afford her redress. She is PROPERTY; she can not obey God." *

There was a man from New England, who removed to Virginia. In process of time, he married a mulatto slave on his own plantation, by whom he had two daughters, as white in appearance as most people at the south. The father sent them to New England, and educated them in one of our best seminaries. They became pious; and, after a while,

* See Preface.

returned to their father's house, in Virginia. The father suddenly died, without the legal formality of giving them their freedom. They were therefore slaves in the eye of the law, on account of their mother. An uncle came forward, seized the two hundred thousand dollars of property, as the heir of their father at law, (for "slaves can not inherit,") sold the girls for fifteen hundred dollars each, to be put into a New Orleans brothel, and put the money into his own pocket. They brought double price, because they were so white and accomplished.

Such are some of the features of American slavery, "*per se*," which, according to Dr. Lord, receives "sanction divine," by "that divine economy which God gave the Hebrew State," and "which may lawfully exist," and to protect which Congress has a right divine to enact the "fugitive slave law," and in the name of God to "to execute penalties for its evasion or resistance;" and no citizen may appeal to the law of God, in protestation of his rights, civil and religious, under such circumstances, without forfeiting his right to be regarded as a christian, and without being just ready to "take the inevitable plunge into the gulph of infidelity." We freely confess ourselves to be of that number, who do not quite see that christianity sanctions American slavery, or the fugitive slave law that protects it, notwithstanding *slave laws were found in the code of Moses*.

Thus we have considered American slavery, in its relation to the slave laws enacted in the code of Moses; and we have seen that there is nothing whatever there, to give divine sanction to that system of iniquity in this republic, for which Dr. Lord wishes to apologize.

We proceed now to the SECOND point in this part of the discussion, which is:—*That Jesus Christ came in contact with slavery, under the Jewish law, but did not expressly condemn it; and therefore Christianity sanctions slavery, so that governments may protect it by law.*

There is a mistake here, in the premises of our author, in point of fact. Jesus Christ did not come in contact with slavery, under the Jewish law. And since he, as a religious teacher, was "not sent save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," so neither did he come in contact with it, under any other law. The fact is, slavery, some six hundred years before Christ, had become extinct in the Hebrew commonwealth, by the natural force of the laws of Moses, strengthened by the teachings of the prophets, and the judgments of God. From the thirty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, it would seem that at about this period, there was an effort on the part of certain covetous rulers, and others of Judea, to reduce to bondage certain of the Hebrews, native

born, or naturalized, whose six years' service had expired, and who therefore were, by the laws of God entitled to their freedom. (Jeremiah, 34: 12—22.) "Therefore the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah, from the LORD, saying, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel; I made a covenant with your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondmen, saying: At the end of seven years, let ye go every man his brother a Hebrew, which hath been sold unto thee; and when he hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free from thee; but your fathers hearkened not unto me, neither inclined their ear. And ye were now turned, and had done right in my sight, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbor; and ye had made a covenant before me in the house which is called by my name: but ye turned and polluted my name, and caused every man his servant and every man his handmaid, whom he had set at liberty at their pleasure, to return, and brought them into subjection, to be unto you for servants and for handmaids. Therefore thus saith the LORD; Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the LORD, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth. And I will give the men that have transgressed my covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant which they had made before me, when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof, the princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs, and the priests, and all the the people of the land, which passed between the parts of the calf; I will even give them into the hands of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life: and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of the heaven and the beasts of the earth. And Zedekiah king of Judah and his princes will I give into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life, and into the hand of the king of Babylon's army, which are gone up from you. Behold, I will command, saith the LORD, and cause them to return to to this city; and they shall fight against it, and take it, and burn it with fire: and I will make the cities of Judah a desolation without an inhabitant."

Such then was the doom which the God of heaven pronounced upon Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, for the crime of re-capturing and reducing to bondage those whom God's law regarded as free men and women. And this doom God most fearfully executed, as a warning

to all friends of fugitive slave laws, in whatever age of the world. "Jerusalem was plundered and burnt, and the Babylonian captivity made short work of the remnants of Jewish slavery which had resisted the spirit of the Mosaic institutions." And after this, in all future time, we find, on divine record, but one single instance in which the effort was ever made to revive the institution and practice of slavery in the Hebrew commonwealth. This took place in the year 445, before Christ, and about ninety years after the return from the Babylonian captivity. And when the thing was promptly met by Nehemiah, the governor of Judea, the effort was entirely abandoned, and thus ended utterly, and forever, every vestige of slavery, or any attempt to resuscitate the institution among the Jews. (See Nehemiah 5 : 1—13.

And such, I believe, to be the uncontradicted conclusion reached by our ablest writers on this subject.* Dr. Barnes, in relation to this point, and in reference to this time, after saying that slavery had altogether ceased in the land of Palestine, asks ;—“On what evidence would a man rely to prove that slavery existed at all in that land in the time of the later prophets ; of the Maccabees ; or when the Saviour appeared ? There are abundant proofs that it existed in Greece and in Rome ; but what is the evidence that it existed in Judea ? So far as I have been able to ascertain there are no declarations that it did, to be found in the Canonical books of the Old Testament, or in Josephus.† There are no allusions to laws, or customs which imply that it was so prevalent. There are no facts, no coins, no medals that suppose it.”

Jesus Christ, therefore, did not come in contact with slavery under the Jewish law. Sent, as he was, specially “to the lost sheep of the *house of Israel*,” it was only necessary for him to treat slavery as he treated every other wicked and criminal relation which he did not have occasion personally to rebuke. For example, “The slave trade on the coast of Africa,” “The caste of India,” “The cannibalism of the South Sea Islands,” “The sports of the Roman Gladiators,” and “The sacrifice of infants to Moloch.” There is no express command of Christ, in the New Testament, requiring us to “call the African slave trade PIRACY.”

* “Christianity and Slavery,” p. 15. “Barnes,” p. 225.

† Josephus when speaking of the Jubilee gives us to understand what kind of slavery he is familiar with in Palestine. Says he :—“And that fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews the Jubilee, wherein debtors are freed from their debts, and slaves are set at liberty, which slaves became such, though they were of the same stock, by transgressing some of those laws whose punishment was not capital ; but they were punished by this method of slavery.” Ant. B. III. Chap. 12 : 3.

Jesus Christ never forbade his disciples, in so many words, from "fighting one another as gladiators." He has nowhere said to Christians, "thou shalt in no wise feed on the flesh of thy brother man." Nor has he ever commanded parents, "not to cast their infant children to the fires of Moloch." And yet what monstrous doctrine to infer, because *Jesus Christ did not expressly condemn these crimes, that therefore he gives his divine sanction to these abominations of earth; and so authorizes Christian governments to protect them by law.*

And further; had Jesus Christ legislated, in detail, respecting every sin that ever was, or would be on the earth, then would have been the New Testament more voluminous than the law records of Great Britain; which, it is said, would require a period of not less than one hundred and fifty years for an individual to read them through.

It was sufficient, therefore, for Jesus Christ, and for the faith of his followers, and for the practice of his disciples, that he rebuke whatever of sin he came in immediate contact with; and then to provide against all other forms of wickedness "by saturating and permeating every particle of his teachings with injunctions against selfishness, injustice, cruelty, pride, avarice, lust, love of domination, and love of adulation," which are, by way of eminence, if not the essentials, at least in great part the inseparable concomitants of Southern slavery. So much for the teachings of the Saviour in dealing with what Dr. Lord calls "the EXISTING civil institution" of slavery, and his relation to it under the Jewish law.

We proceed to consider the THIRD point in this part of the discussion, which is:—*That the Apostles met with Roman slavery, among the Gentiles, but neither denounced it, nor the government which protected it by "laws that gave the master the power of life and death over his servants;" and therefore Christianity sanctions slavery, so as to authorize governments to protect it by law.*

Our author here is true in regard to his premises, but false in his conclusion. It is true, that "slavery was universal in the Roman Empire" in apostolic times. And it is true that "that the laws gave the master the power of life and death over his servants." And it is also true that the Apostles did not therefore denounce the Roman government, in relation to these wicked laws of servitude and murder. But it is not *therefore* true that apostolic Christianity sanctions these wicked laws, and the crimes which they permitted, or that it affords any authority whatever for a Christian government, either to recognize or protect similar forms of wickedness by law. If, indeed, *from these*

premises, Christianity would sanction a law to *enslave* a man, it would also sanction a law for the master to *kill* his slave; for the Roman law allowed *both* alike, and the Saviour and his Apostles did not, in so many words, denounce either the *enslaving*, or the *killing* of the *slave*. Both alike were parts of the same "existing civil institution." And further; *from* *such premises*, Christianity would also sanction a law to enslave, and then murder, *white* men and women, as well as black; for the Roman law respecting slaves, and which the Saviour and his Apostles did not denounce, made no distinction whatever in the *color* of men. We say, therefore, that Dr. Lord is most manifestly false in this thing. A minister of the gospel, for instance, may be in Rome at the present time, and as a teacher of religion not feel called upon particularly to denounce the government of the Pope, on account of the Papal Inquisition, nor to sit in formal judgment on the iniquitous laws of that horrible tribunal. He might feel—like the Apostles in their epistles to the little independent communities of Christians that constituted the individual churches which had *already separated* themselves from the iniquitous laws of ancient Rome, and who had voluntarily put themselves under the LAW OF CHRIST, and sworn allegiance to the Saviour, even to the giving up of "father and mother, wife and children, brethren and sisters, houses and lands, and doubtless their slaves also;—he might feel, I say, that in his relation to such a little community of Christians, thus having *renounced* the iniquity of popery, that he was not specially called upon, in his communications to *them*, either to denounce the papal government or its inquisition. But it would by no means follow *therefrom* that the Christianity he was promulgating would either sanction popery in general, or the legal murder of men for their religion in particular, or that it would in any way authorize a Christian code of laws to protect "the Beast" and its bloody tribunal, or to re-enact its laws here, there or elsewhere. Nor would it follow, moreover, thence, that a Christian minister in America could see such a tribunal erected and protected by law in this commonwealth, without great sin on his part, unless he lifted "up his voice like a trumpet" against the bloody measure, and specially so, when, as in this government, he is a part of the body politic, and is *therefore*, like every other citizen, accountable to God for every one of his acts, whether single or associated.

And if it be true that Christianity sanctions slavery, from *such premises*, then, by parity of reasoning, *Christianity would sanction* OTHER forms of wickedness recognized by the old Roman law; and in what

respect so ever the Apostles did not denounce that government, and sit in formal judgment upon its enactments, THERE it would be right for governments to re-enact these forms of wickedness, and protect them by a Christian code of laws at the present time. Let us see then, how this reasoning will apply to some other things "that were existing civil institutions" of Rome at the time in question, but which the Apostles, in their Epistles to the churches, did not see fit in so many words to denounce.

There were THREE forms of domestic slavery amongst the Romans in the days of Paul, all of which were equally abhorrent to the principles, and the spirit of the Christian religion. At that time there was not only a *servile* slavery throughout the Roman Empire such as our author refers to, but there was also a *conjugal*, and *filial* slavery, wherein "the laws gave the husband and father the power of life and death over his wife and children." The Roman law respecting the relation of a father to his children is set forth in Roman antiquities, by Prof. Eschenburg, in the following language:—"Among the Roman customs connected with the birth of children, that was the most remarkable which left it to the arbitrary will of the father whether to preserve his new born child or leave it to perish. In reference to his decision of this point, the mid-wife placed it on the ground; if the father choose to preserve it, he raised it from the ground, and was said "*tollere infantem.*" This was an intimation of his purpose to educate and acknowledge it as his own. If the father did not choose to do this, he left the child on the ground, and this expressed his wish to expose it,—(*exponere.*) This *exposing*, was an unnatural custom borrowed from the Greeks, by which children were left in the streets, particularly at the "*Columna lactaria,*" and abandoned to their fate. Generally the power of the father was very great, but the mother had no share therein. This power extended not only over the *life* of his children, but the father could three times sell his son, and three times reclaim him, and appropriate all his gains as his own. * * * The freeing of a son from the power of a father, was effected by what was called *Emancipation*, or a fictitious thrice repeated selling of his son. * * * The father and the son appeared together with the pretended purchaser, a friend of the first, and with a body of witnesses, before the tribunal of the Praetor. And here the imaginary thrice repeated sale, and thrice repeated manumission was completed with certain established usages. * * * The power of the father over his son was otherwise rarely terminated, except by the death or banishment of the father; it belonged to the peculiar rights of the Roman citizen. By emancipation

the son became his own master, and possessor of his own property, of which, however, he must give the father half, as an acknowledgment of his freedom."*

In relation to this same law of ancient Rome, Dr. Adam says:—"Even when his children were grown up, a father might imprison, scourge, send them bound to work in the country, and also put them to death by any punishment he pleased if they deserved it. Hence a father is called a domestic judge by Seneca. A son could acquire no property but by his father's consent; and what he did thus acquire, was called his "*peculium*," as that of a slave.† The condition of a son was in some respects harder than that of a slave. A slave when sold *once* became free; but a son not, unless sold three times. The power of the father was suspended when the son was promoted to any public office, but not extinguished. For it continued not only during the life of the children, but likewise extended to grand-children, and great grand-children. None of them became their own masters, [*sui juris*,] till the death of their father and grandfather. A daughter, by marriage, passed from the power of her father to that of her husband."‡

In further confirmation of the Roman law in this particular, Gibbon in his history of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, says:—"The exclusive, absolute, and the perpetual dominion of the father over his children, is peculiar to the Roman jurisprudence, and seems to be coeval with the foundation of the city. The paternal power was instituted or confirmed by Romulus himself; and, after the practice of three centuries, it was inscribed on the fourth table of the Decemvirs. In the forum, the senate, or the camp, the adult son of a Roman citizen, enjoyed the public and private rights of a PERSON; in his father's house he was a mere THING; confounded by the laws with the moveables, the cattle, and the slaves, whom the capricious master might alienate or destroy, without being responsible to any earthly tribunal. The hand which bestowed the daily sustenance might resume the voluntary gift; and whatever was acquired by the labor or fortune of the son, was immediately lost in the property of the father. At the call of indigence or avarice, the master of a family could dispose of his children or his slaves. According to his discretion, a father might chastise the real or imaginary faults of his children, by stripes, by imprisonment, by exile, by sending them to the country to work in chains among the meanest of his

* Manual of Classical Lit., 317, 318.

† Livy, ii. 41.

‡ Roman Antiquities, 50, 51.

servants. The majesty of the parent was armed with the *power of life and death*; and the example of such bloody executions which were some times praised, and never punished, may be traced in the annals of Rome, beyond the time of Pompey and Augustus. Without fear, though not without danger of abuse, the Roman legislators had reposed an unbounded confidence in the sentiments of paternal love; and the oppression was tempered by the assurance that each generation must succeed in its turn to the awful dignity of parent and master.”*

Such, then, were Roman practices and laws, in the time of Christ and his Apostles, respecting the relation of parent and children; and without fear of contradiction, we affirm, that *filial slavery* and murder, was at that period an “existing civil institution of Rome.” And similar to this also were Roman practice and laws, at the same period respecting the *slavery and murder of the wife*, by the husband. Dionysius Halicarnassus, when speaking, respecting the relation of husband and wife, says:—“The [Roman] laws obliged the married women, as having no other refuge, to conform themselves entirely to the temper of their husbands. But if she committed any fault, the injured person was her judge, and determined the degree of her punishment. In case of adultery, or when it was found that she had drunk wine (which the Greeks would look upon as the least of all crimes,) her relations together with her husband were appointed her judges, who were allowed by Romulus to punish both these crimes with death.” †

And that this law respecting conjugal slavery and murder, was not a dead letter, but really “existing” in the times of Christ and his Apostles, is evident from a case mentioned by Tacitus, which occurred at Rome, in the year 57, in the reign of Nero.—“Pomponia Graecina, a woman of illustrious birth, and the wife of Plautius, was accused of embracing a foreign superstition. The matter was referred to the jurisdiction of her husband. Plautius, *in conformity to ancient usage*, called together a number of her relations, and in their presence sat in judgment on the conduct of his wife.” ‡

Such, then, were the “existing civil institutions” of the Roman Empire, respecting the slavery and murder of the wife and children by the husband and father, And yet, strange as it may seem to some, neither husband nor father, “in all the realm of the Cæsars” is told in the New Testament *that he must not scourge his wife for drinking wine* ;

* Milman’s Gibbon, iii. 169.

† Dionys. Hal., ii. 25.

‡ Annal, x iii. 32.

that he must not kill her, as the law of Rome gave him power to do, and without judge or jury, for certain alleged faults, of which he might suppose her guilty, and of which he himself was the judge; that he must not cast out his new born child to die for the crime of birth; that he must not sell his son, nor treat him as a slave, nor kill him outright, according to the "existing civil institutions" of the day. Nor is there a single command issued in all the New Testament, enjoining upon the Christian father, the duty of emancipating his children from the bondage of that filial slavery, into which they had been so unceremoniously thrust by the act of being born. We come then to the question, "does Christianity, therefore, sanction these forms of slavery in the Roman Empire, because it is written "let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," and because, forsooth, Jesus Christ and his Apostles, did not see fit, in so many words, to denounce such wickedness, and the government that enacted and protected it by law! And have civil governments *therefore the divinely delegated power* to re-enact these statutes now, and by legal forms and penalties, to protect these crimes against God and humanity! According to the reasoning of Dr. Lord, in the case of *servile* slavery, *they have*, and according to *that same reasoning*, we say, then, they *also have* in the case of *filial* and *conjugal* slavery. The cases, in so far as they are "existing civil institutions," and in regard to the manner in which the New Testament deals with them, and with the government which enacted and protected them, we aver to be precisely PARALLEL.

The difficulty, into which our author has fallen here, in regard to his reasoning, arises, we think, from his not viewing *rightly* the SERVICE-RELATION which God has instituted among men. The fact is, there is a three-fold relation by divine appointment, in our civil condition in this life. The *first* is the conjugal relation, growing out of the constitution of the sexes. The *second* is the reciprocal relation of parent and child, growing out of the helplessness and dependency of infancy and of old age. The *third* is the *service-relation*, growing out of the connection of capital with labor. These three forms of civil relation are established by divine appointment; and *within their proper limits*, they confer great and mutual benefits, respectively, upon the parties so related. And the LAW OF CHRIST restricting them, respectively, within their appropriate limits, utterly forbids, both in its spirit and letter, every mark of slavery in these relations in any form. We may have occasion to allude to this three-fold relation again. Meanwhile we come to the *fourth* point in this part of the discussion, which is:—*That the Apostles preached the*

gospel to slaves, among the gentile converts, and enjoined upon them the observance of "duties that grow out of the relation of slavery itself," and therefore christianity sanctions slavery so that government may protect it by law.

This argument of our author is quickly answered. Christ said:—"Blessed are ye whom men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceedingly glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For so persecuted they the prophets, which were before you." Now this preaching of Christ, to suffering Christians, by no means authorizes men to revile or persecute or speak evil of them. Much less does it authorize government to protect such wrong doing by law. Again; Christ has issued his command in the New Testament, to Christians: "That ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn unto him the other also." But verily, this does not authorize a man to smite a Christian on either cheek, or warrant government to protect the outrage by law. Precisely of this character is the instruction of the New Testament, to slaves who were suffering "wrongfully" under the cruel and unjust treatment of their masters. An example of this teaching may be seen in 1st Peter, 2: 18—19, where servants are exhorted to be obedient to "froward" masters, "for this," says Peter, "is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience *toward God*, endure grief, suffering **WRONGFULLY.**" And the christian servant under such circumstances, is exhorted to suffer the *wrongs of slavery*, taking Christ for an example: "For even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an *example*, that ye should follow his steps." See a similar passage, also, in Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, 6: 5—8, where, as in general, obedience is urged upon the Christian servant by motives such as the following: "as the *servants of Christ* doing the will of God from the heart, with good will doing service as to the Lord, **AND NOT TO MEN.**" See also, Coloss. 3: 22—25, and 1st Tim. 5: 1—5, and Titus 2: 9—10, which, I believe constitute the only passages in the New Testament containing instructions to servants; and they teach us *one* and the same doctrine, so far as the servants thus addressed were slaves, properly so called. And such precepts to Christian servants, in relation to patient obedience under wrong treatment, and to the prohibition of vice on their part, no more demonstrate that christianity sanctions slavery, and authorizes government to protect it by law, than would an exhortation forbidding revenge, and encouraging meekness, fortitude and faith in the Christian martyr, justify the papal inquisition in lighting the fagot to

consume his body, because he would not give up his soul for safe keeping into the hands of the Pope of Rome. It was thus that *the Apostles preached the gospel to slaves among the gentile converts, and enjoined upon them the observance of "duties which grow out of the relation of slavery" itself.*

We proceed therefore to the *fifth* and last point in this part of the discussion, which is: *that the Apostles legislated for slave-holders in Christian churches, respecting the treatment of their slaves, but said nothing respecting the duty of emancipating them; and therefore christianity sanctions slavery so that government may protect it by law.*

We gather this sentiment of our auther from some general remarks in his sermon, one or two of which it may be well here to quote in his own words. They are as follows: "Paul sent Onesimus back to his master on the same principles which he enjoined upon the Romans, *subjection to existing civil authority.*" "The inspired teachers of christianity *instructed both masters and slaves, in regard to the duties which grow out of the institution of SLAVERY, without either approving or condemning the relation itself.*"

We are prepared to show that our author does greatly depart from the truth in his statement, respecting the instructions which masters have received from the inspired teachers of christianity, in this respect. On a point of such vital importance to his argument, we certainly should have supposed that he would have been particular to give the chapter and verse of the New Testament, where such instructions as he describes, are to be found; and would moreover, have taken particular pains to prove that the masters thus instructed, were addressed respecting "*duties which grow out of the institution of SLAVERY,*" rather than duties which grow out of a free service-relation of *servants*, properly so called. But as Dr. Lord has, as in general, chosen to give us nothing but assertion without proof, on this point, we can do no more now, nor indeed less, than to collate the different passages in the New Testament, so far as we remember, where masters are addressed respecting servants, and see what proof they afford us, "that the inspired teachers of christianity instructed *masters* in regard to SLAVES." Our position is, that masters in the relation of *slave-holders*, are no where instructed in the New Testament, respecting the *duties of slave-holding* any more than *pirates*, are instructed in the New Testament, respecting the *duties and modes* of robbing and murdering men.

There are *two* passages in the New Testament, addressed to masters, and they are as follows: "And ye masters do the same things unto

them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is their respect of persons with him." [Ephesians 6: 9.] "Masters give to your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven." [Colossians 4: 1.]

These *two* passages, together with Paul's instructions to Philemon respecting Onesimus, constitute, so far as we have been able to learn, the *entire* instructions in the New Testament, *claimed* to be addressed to slave-holders, respecting their slaves. To say the least, we think they afford a somewhat slender platform upon which to rear so mighty a system of wickedness and crime, as that of modern domestic slavery. Dr. Wayland, when referring to these two passages of scripture as giving divine sanction to slavery, asks; "Was there ever such a moral superstruction raised from such a foundation? The doctrine of purgatory, from a verse in Maccabees—the doctrine of the papacy, from the saying of Christ to Peter—the establishment of the Inquisition, from the obligation to extend the knowledge of religious truth; all of these seem to me as nothing to it. I say it with entire kindness, for on such a subject I am incapable of any other feeling, if the religion of Christ allows us to take such a license from such precepts as these, the New Testament would be the greatest curse that ever was inflicted on our race." *

The simple question now to be determined in regard to these scriptures, is this: does Paul address these men as *masters*, in relation to *SLAVES*, under the civil authority of the *LAW OF ROME*; or does he address them as *masters* in relation to *FREE* servants, under the existing religious authority of the *LAW OF CHRIST*? Are they *SLAVE*-holders who are thus instructed, or are they masters of servants in a *free service-relation*? The following considerations will show conclusively we think, to every intelligent and "fair minded man," that they are masters, only in this latter relation, who are thus "instructed."

1. They are evidently masters who were professors of religion, and members of the Christian church. Indeed the Epistles of Paul to the Ephesians, and to the Colossians, were addressed "to the Saints," and "to the faithful in Christ Jesus," in these places. And Philemon is distinguished by Paul particularly, as being his "fellow laborer," and for his "love and faith toward the Lord Jesus and towards *all* Saints." At all events then, they were the sworn subjects of Jesus Christ, to whom these *instructions* respecting their so-called slaves, are thus addressed.

* Fuller and Wayland, on Slavery, p. p. 83—84.

2. In regard to the words "*kurios*" and "*doulos*," in the original language of Scripture, used here to designate the relation of master and servant, it is proper to notice that they are *not* terms which imply man's ownership of man; but they are entirely *generic* in their meaning, without determining whether the service rendered by the servant, is that of a *slave* or of a *servant* under voluntary engagement. The *specific* word for *slave*, in the Greek language is "*andrapedon*," while "*doulos*" is used in the bible to designate our voluntary service to God, as his servants, and is frequently made to denote the condition of men in other relations not compulsory. In the modern dialect of the Greek language, "*doulos*" is the name of a free hired servant, while "*sklabos*," from the French or Italian, is the name of a slave. Indeed, "*doulos*," by a well understood idiom in the original language of the New Testament would also be a proper designation of a *freed man*, where in a given case it had before even denoted the servile relation, as may be illustrated in the following cases. One of the disciples of Christ is called Matthew the PUBLICAN, some time *after* he had ceased to be a tax-gatherer; and on the same principle another is called "Simon the CANANITE," or the ZEALOT, *after*, he had for years, ceased to be such: while again, particular mention is made of the CHRISTIAN faith of Rahab the HARLOT. In Grecian Antiquities, Prof. Eschenburg says, that "freed men were still termed *douloi*."* Nothing *certain* therefore is to be determined respecting the social condition of the servants in these passages, from the words by which their relation is designated in the original Scriptures. The word "*doulos*," being *generic*, and not specific, would, in South Carolina, like the word servant, mean a slave; while in Massachusetts, or New York, it would mean a servant by voluntary engagement. And "*kurios*," the word used for master, would in either case be only the correlative of "*doulos*" a servant. If the servant was a slave, then "*kurios*" would be a slave-holder. But if the servant was in a free service relation, then "*kurios*" would designate only the relation of employer.

3. Having now shown that the "masters" who received "instructions" respecting their servants in the New Testament, were Christian men, and that nothing certain in regard to their social condition, may be learned from the words *master* and *servant* in the Greek text, these words being generic rather than specific in their meaning: we proceed to adduce some considerations as positive proof from the bible, that

* Manual of Classical Lit. 99,

these masters were *not* SLAVE-HOLDERS, but on the contrary, the masters of servants, properly so called; and this, in the first place, may be seen from the manner in which the New Testament addresses SERVANTS who have BELIEVING masters.

In the first Epistle to Timothy, 6 : 1-2, Paul gives Timothy some directions, respecting the discharge of his duty as a Christian teacher, in regard to this subject. And, "here," as Dr. Hague has well observed, "No advice is given to the young pastor, as to his manner of addressing masters; it relates to servants only. And of servants, two classes are contemplated; first, those who were Christian servants of heathen masters are considered. This class is designated by being "under the yoke." "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed." This, as Christians, they were urged to do, even though they might be subject to the worst oppression; in agreement with the address of Peter to the same class; — "For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully." A heathen master, interpreting the rights of a servant by the light of the Roman Law, would be very likely to commit acts of gross injustice; but the precept enjoining a meek endurance of this wrong for Christ's sake, can, of course, furnish no sanction to the master's continuance of it. But now, in this Epistle to Timothy, Paul proceeds in the next sentence, to speak of a different class of cases; those in which *both* the parties were *Christians*. And here it is quite remarkable, that instead of directing masters to treat their servants kindly, he calls upon servants themselves to *beware lest they should* DESPISE THEIR MASTERS! His words are: — "And they that have *believing* masters, let them not despise them, *because they are brethren*; but rather do their service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit." Who does not see that this exhortation arose from the fact, that when *both the parties had come under THE LAW OF CHRIST, Christianity had changed the relation in which they stood — had enfranchised the slave — had made him one of the "BRETHREN" — had invested him with a new dignity, and new rights*; so that now, instead of the master being under a new temptation to treat the servant wrongfully, there was a greater danger lest the servant should abuse his elevation, should abandon the master's service, or treat him with contempt? Evidently the style, the letter, and the spirit of these directions to Timothy, indicate a fundamental change, which Christianity had wrought in the relation of these classes of persons, where both had come "under the law" of the new

dispensation. They had now risen to that high condition described in the words of their common Lord, "One is your Master, even Christ, and ALL ye are brethren." Violence, or involuntary subjection to bondage, was incompatible with such a change; and now the Apostle was chiefly anxious that the parties should not separate from each other, but by continuing together on friendly terms, and, in the discharge of mutual duties, should prove to the world, that the law of Christian love is a better cement for society, than the law of force. No class of persons had it in their power to afford a brighter demonstration of this, than that of enfranchised servants. If they availed themselves of their acknowledged rights to forsake their old master, the new religion would be dishonored; if they remained, and yielded faithful service, from a principle of love and of religious obligation, Christianity would, through them, reveal its moral and conservative tendency, and would be sure to gain new victories. The appeal which was made therefore to Christian servants on this behalf, has a most important bearing, and proves alike that they had all "been called unto liberty," and that it was expected that the spirit of their religion would dispose them not to "use their liberty for an occasion to the flesh."* If any one deem the case to be otherwise, just let him imagine how preposterous it would seem for any grave and reverend bishop of our day, or for any public body in the country, to send a message to the young pastors of South Carolina, urging them to teach the slaves of Christian planters, "not to *despise* their masters!" Surely, such a message would sound strangely to the planters themselves; and if it were carried into effect by some obedient Timothy, they would see the "*foolishness* of preaching," in a new point of light. †

It may therefore be laid down as a general rule, that wherever in the New Testament, masters WHO ARE BELIEVERS "are instructed," respecting their duties to their servants, *then* the servants of these masters are not *slaves*, but persons in a free service-relation; and since *no masters but those who are Christians* are instructed, at all, in the New Testament on this subject, therefore it follows that Dr. Lord does not state *the facts* when he says: — "The inspired teachers of Christianity instructed masters in regard to the *duties which grow out of the institution of SLAVERY*, without either approving or condemning the relation itself."

And that the masters were not *slave-holders*, who were thus instructed in the New Testament may be inferred again from the *very nature of the instructions* themselves, as found in the two passages in question.

* Galatians, 5 : 13.

† Christianity and Slavery, pp. 36-39.

Let us look again at these two passages carefully, and see how they read. Colossians 4 ; 1 :— “Masters give unto your servants that which is JUST AND EQUAL, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven.”

Every person conversant with the Greek text of this scripture, will at once recognize that by this command of God, every servant is entitled to JUSTICE AND EQUITY at the hand of his master. “*Justice and equity,*” is precisely the meaning of the words in the original Scripture rendered here “*just and equal.*” Now, while *justice* respects the laws of society, *EQUITY* is founded in the laws of nature, and respects *all* of those rights conferred on men by the Creator, whether those rights be recognized by the laws of the land or not. The divine injunction in this Scripture, therefore is, that the master shall render unto his servant all of his RIGHTS, both of property and of person, whether they be according to the laws of society, or the laws of God: nay, that the master is bound to give *EQUITY* to his servant, as truly as he is to give him justice ; — to respect the rights conferred on him by grant of the Creator, not *less*, to say the least, than those secured to him by the statute. If therefore, LIFE, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of HAPPINESS, be among the rights God has conferred on men, then the divine command to render to the servant “that which is just and EQUAL” utterly forbids that he even be found in the condition of a *slave*. We will submit it to any man who has a decent respect for his own intelligence and integrity, to say, whether “*EQUITY,*” in behalf of a servant will allow a man to hold him as a SLAVE, either according to the laws of Rome, which “gave the master the power of life and death over the servant ;” or according to the laws of the Southern States of this Republic, which allow one man to hold in ruthless bondage the body, the mind, and the soul of his brother, and to make him an article of merchandise for gain and for lust! And it was particularly pertinent that Paul should command his brethren who were masters, in regard to their duties in this matter. These servants, who had been slaves, had *obtained* their freedom, and were *holding* it— not by the force of state laws operating upon their masters, but by the power of an enlightened conscience under the LAW OF CHRIST, and this same *law of Christ*, was their only safe-guard for freedom in the future. It was *therefore* that masters are thus commanded *at their peril*, to give *justice* and *EQUITY* to their servants, “knowing” according to the divine word “that ye also have a master in heaven,” to whom ye are responsible in this matter, whatever may be your relation in this respect, to the laws of the state. And similar also to this, is the teaching of that other Scripture containing instructions to masters, and found in Ephesians, 6 ; 9 :— “And ye masters do the *same things* unto

them, [*i. e.* the servants] FORBEARING THREATENING, knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is their *respect of persons* with him."

There is no *respect of persons* with God. This is only another mode of saying that God demands *equity* among men in all their relations, and will hold every man accountable at the judgment for not rendering it.

And as to the injunction in this Scripture,—“do the same things” unto their servants, reference is evidently had to what had been enjoined just before upon servants themselves, viz: that they should in all of their relations be men of *integrity*, and of *kindness*, and of *respect for the will of God*.

In addition to this, the masters were forbidden not only to use force, in the government of servants, but they were required to refrain even from THREATENING to do so. Dr. Bloomfield, in his notes on the New Testament, notices that the word “*threatening*,” in the Greek text has the article before it, and that it therefore is *specific* in its meaning; and after a careful examination of all the passages in the classics, where he could meet with this word, he adduces proof to show that this construction with the article signifies “the punishment awarded by law.” This being the case, this Scripture affords us very important proof that these masters cannot be slave-holders. For certainly, no man of ordinary self-respect would have us suppose, that the slavery of Rome, or of the Southern States, could be maintained for one hour, where the master’s religion would not only not allow him to punish his slaves according to the *laws*, but would not even permit him to *threaten* them with punishment.

It was very evidently Paul’s object to show these Colossian and Ephesian masters, among the former of whom was also Philemon, that they must never again attempt to hold *servants* according to the “existing civil institutions” of Rome, and that God in the judgment, would hold them responsible for regulating their conduct towards their servants, according to the law of Christ, to whom they had sworn allegiance by the very act of their becoming Christians. It is not *true*, therefore, according to Dr. Lord, that “the inspired teachers of Christianity instructed *masters in regard to duties which grow out of the institution of slavery, without either approving or condemning the relation of slavery itself.*”

And that these Christian masters, who received instructions from the “inspired teachers of Christianity,” were not *slave-holders*, is evident, again, from the spirit of those teachings in the New Testament, which constitute the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, which they had embraced.

The author of the sermon on the Mount, said: “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for

this is the law and the prophets." — Matth. 7 : 12. And that the law of *equal* love to our fellow men, is as binding upon the human family as that of *supreme* love to God, is plain from the words of Christ, in Matth. 22 ; 37—40 : — "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first, and the great commandment. And the second is LIKE UNTO it : *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.* ON THESE TWO COMMANDMENTS hang all the law and the prophets." In the parable of the good Samaritan, Christ has taught us whom God regards as our *neighbor*, whom we are thus to love, showing that this *law of love* extends to the *whole human family*, without distinction of race or condition of life. And that the law of *mutual love* is pre-eminently FUNDAMENTAL AS THE LAW OF CHRIST for CHRISTIANS in their relation to each other, is most emphatically taught us by the Saviour, in his last interview with his disciples, before the crucifixion. Thrice did Christ enjoin upon them, on that occasion, this duty of mutual love : — "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye *love one another*, AS I LOVED *you*, that ye also love one another." "This is my commandment, that YE LOVE ONE ANOTHER, AS I HAVE LOVED YOU." "These things I command you, THAT YE LOVE ONE ANOTHER."* To the early Christians, these precepts of Christ were no idle words. In the very act of their baptism they had vowed allegiance to the Saviour, and had sworn to abandon every thing incompatible with his commands. Says Paul : "For as many of you as have been baptised into Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek — there is neither *bond* nor *free* — there is neither male nor female — FOR YE *are all one* IN CHRIST JESUS.† That legislature, therefore, which had raised one class above another by *distinction*, founded in rank, sex, birth, blood, and nationality, and created by human enactments in violation of those rights, conferred on men by the Creator, the primitive Christians did most heartily renounce as being incompatible with the LAW OF CHRIST, in this relation of love to each other. The several relations themselves, as for instance, that of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, *properly* so called, *these* the law of Christ not only allows to remain but binds men in them, in still more sacred bonds, because *these* are ordained of God, as we have already hinted. But this law of Christ utterly annihilates whatever of *slavery* it finds in any of these relations, as being perfectly inconsistent with the fundamental law of mutual love among disciples, who are *brethern*, and who know but ONE MASTER, and that master Jesus Christ. Indeed so stringent was the law of Christ

* John 13 : 34. 15 : 13 and 17.

† Galatians 3 : 27-28.

upon those in the relation of the Christian brotherhood, that God did not allow them to institute against each other, any process of law *whatever*, "according to the existing civil institutions of Rome." Said Paul to some who needed special instruction in this respect, "*Dare* any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints?"—1st Cor. 6 : 1. And are we to be told that there were Christians, in the days of Paul, allowed of God to hold their brethren as property ; to bind them by the civil law to do service without their contract or consent ; to exact their toil and sweat by stripes and violence ; nay, to doom them to perpetual bondage, and their children after them, in accordance with the law of Rome, "that gave the master the power of life and death over his servants !"

Alas ! how very different from the naked assertion of Dr. Lord, is the testimony of history, concerning the very early Christian church in this particular. Clement, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, writes : "*We have known many among ourselves who have delivered themselves into bonds and slavery, that they might restore others to liberty.*" This Clement, "whose name is in the book of life," (Phil. 4 : 3.) lived in the first century, and was cotemporary with the Apostles. "*Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, expended his whole estate and then sold himself, in order to accomplish the same object.*" "*Cyprian sent to the Bishop of Numidia 2500 crowns, in order to redeem some captives.*" "*Socrates, the historian, says : that after the Romans had taken 7000 Persian captives, Acacius, Bishop of Amida melted down the gold and silver plate of his church, with which he redeemed the captives.*" "*Ambrose, of Milan, did the same in respect to the furniture of his church.*"* *Such* was the spirit of Christians in Apostolical times and subsequently in regard to slavery. Instead therefore of being *slave-holders*, they even felt it to be the most urgent duty of the disciples of Christ, to redeem at great sacrifice the slaves of the heathen, even among whom they dwelt. And so strong was their abhorrence to the system, and so marked their position before the world, in relation to it, that by the *force of their example*, that slavery was, early in the Christian era, abolished by law throughout the whole Roman Empire.† And is it credible therefore, that there was slavery in the Apostolical church, when Christians of those days were taking such ground, and exerting such an influence against it, among the heathen around them !

Precisely in accordance with this view of the subject, are Paul's instructions to Philemon concerning Onesimus. Dr. Lord makes the *as-*

* Biblical Repository, Oct. 1835. Art. *Roman Slavery*.

† Fuller & Wayland on Slavery, p 101.

sertion again, that Paul sent Onesimus back to his master, on the principle of that "*subjection to existing civil authority,*" which made Onesimus a *slave* to Philemon. We should like to see the first intimation in the Bible, to show that this assertion of our author is *truth*. Hear what Paul himself says in refutation of so gross a calumny upon his Apostolical character: "I beseech thee [Philemon] for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds, * * * thou therefore receive him that is my own bowels, * * * NOT now AS A SERVANT, but ABOVE a servant, a BROTHER, beloved specially to me, but how much more unto thee, BOTH IN THE FLESH and IN THE LORD." Does Paul then send Onesimus back to Philemon as a SLAVE, according to the "existing civil institution," of Rome, that gave the master the power of life and death over his servant? We had supposed that Paul spake the *truth*, when he besought his old Colossian friend and fellow laborer to receive Onesimus NOT NOW as a SERVANT, but ABOVE a servant, a BROTHER, beloved. And pray, what is the meaning of the word "BROTHER" in the Bible, "brother in the flesh," and "brother in the Lord?" For ourselves, we had supposed that "brother in the Lord," was a *brother CHRISTIAN in his ecclesiastical relation*, and one ENTITLED to a TREATMENT of LOVE, according to the new commandment of Christ: "*That ye love one another, as I have loved you.*" And we had supposed, further, that a "*brother in the flesh,*" was a *brother MAN in his civil relation*, and one ENTITLED to a treatment of EQUITY, according to the "inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which God has conferred on all men. We therefore need something more than *assertion*—something *like evidence* in the case, before we can believe that Paul describes by this language, the condition of a *slave*, either according to the laws of Rome, or of the Southern States of this Republic. So much then for SLAVE-HOLDERS *being instructed by the inspired teachers of Christianity, in regard to the duties which grow out of the institution of slavery.*

We have thus walked leisurely through this Thanksgiving Sermon of Rev. Dr. Lord, in favor of domestic slavery; and we have at length reached our conclusion. The sermon is bad in logic, bad in theology, and bad in humanity. It is not TRUTH, *that in matters committed by God to governments, Christianity gives to the magistracy the right divine for doing wrong even, and for committing the citizen in the name of God to execute the wickedness.* It is not TRUTH, *that to regulate slavery and protect it, is a matter committed by God to Governments.* And it is therefore an utter FALSITY, *that congress has right divine to enact the fugitive slave law, in order to kidnap men, women and children,*

and reduce them to bondage, and by fines and prisons, to compel us to aid IN THIS MIGHTY WICKEDNESS, and to forbid us from exercising the the Christian rites of humanity in favor of the poor and defenceless, who crave at our hands, a crust of bread, a cup of water, and a shelter from the cold.

Let no man therefore be deceived in this thing. As for ourselves, we intend calmly to OBEY GOD, the fugitive slave law, and the sneers at divine authority, of infidel men in high places, and in low, to the contrary notwithstanding. For if this law be treason against God, then will God hold every man guilty for committing the crimes which it commands. A wicked law may legalize crime upon earth, but it cannot relieve a man from his accountability at the bar of God. Nor will public officers have the least possible excuse at the Judgment, for having executed this wicked enactment. So long as any man, at any time, is permitted to resign his official station, no one in office can be compelled to do a wicked act, contrary to his own consent.

But while it is the duty of every man to disobey the fugitive slave law, it is no part of the duty of any to offer forcible resistance to the magistracy in executing it, however wrong such action on the part of the magistrate may be. The reason is plain, violence is not the way to dispose of this evil. Neither are private citizens the proper persons to execute those penalties on men, which their crimes may deserve. IT IS THEREFORE THE DUTY OF NO MAN IN THIS GOVERNMENT TO RESIST THE MAGISTRACY BY FORCE, IN THE EXECUTION OF LAW, under circumstances of wrong. The only remedy we have in a free government like ours, is FIRMLY TO OBEY GOD; CALMLY TO SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES; MANFULLY TO AVOW OUR ADHERENCE TO RIGHT, and OUR OPPOSITION TO EVIL; and so take measures to repeal whatever is unjust and oppressive in our laws. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

We now take our leave of Rev. Dr. Lord, and his Thanksgiving Sermon, entitled "THE HIGHER LAW, IN ITS APPLICATION TO THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL." We have found him among those who in their sneer at the "*higher law*," as they call it, pour contempt on the AUTHORITY of the great God. We leave him with this affectionate advice: "BE NOT DECEIVED; GOD IS NOT MOCKED: FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP."